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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1036



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INTERNATIONAL

PREVENTING A NEW WORLD WAR

Moscow NOVOSTI DAILY REVIEW in English 7 May 80 pp 1-2

[Article by V. Kortunov, NOVOSTI political analyst]

[Text] On May 9, 1980 the Soviet people will celebrate the 35th anniversary of the victory over the German invaders in the Second World War.

Three decades and a half is a considerable span of time. At any rate, this period is quite sufficient to comprehend such a complicated historical phenomenon as World War II. Among many other lessons that war has taught mankind is the main and most obvious lesson to the effect that there should be no third world war, since modern civilization would be destroyed by it.

This conclusion is now shared by the vast majority of the world population, in fact, by all who are able and wish to soberly and realistically assess the world actualities. And yet the present generations are marking the 35th anniversary of the unconditional surrender of the fascist aggressor, who put mankind on the brink of a catastrophe, under conditions of the extreme aggravation of the international situation, when the imperialist forces are again engaged in sabre-rattling, are criminally playing with fire and again are challenging world peace. Therefore, today too we have to ask: is it possible to escape a new global conflict which now, in the Nuclear Age, would be tantamount to the self-destruction of mankind?

Relying on the experience of the Second World War and of the post-war period, the Communists answer this question in the affirmative. The meeting of European Communist and Workers' Parties held at the end of April in Paris has emphatically pointed out the possibility of preventing a new world war. What speaks in favour of such a conclusion?

The second world war and its results graphically demonstrated the bankruptcy, hopelessness and senselessness of the notorious policy from positions of strength and the adventurist claims of the aggressive reactionary groupings on world supremacy. The fate of the Hitler clique is a good lesson to all. It shows where the striving of any country, even a very powerful one from the military point of view, to rule over other countries

can lead to in our time. The Nazi aggression cost mankind 50 million lives, incalculable sufferings and enormous material losses. The finale of this adventurist policy is well known. Having their march to gain world supremacy to the drumbeat of anti-Soviet hysteria, the ringleaders of Nazism completed it in the Nuremberg dock. Isn't it a good lesson for those who are trying today to follow the dangerous way of hegemonistic claims? We should like to believe that political wisdom and common sense will triumph in the face of these facts.

Another important lesson of our Victory is that no one has ever succeeded in intimidating the Soviet Union and that the forces of social progress are invincible.

"The victory over Nazism," said Leonid Brezhnev, "has shown that in the world there are no forces which could reverse the powerful stream of the revolutionary transformations begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution." After the second world war the social face of the world was changing in favour of the working people more rapidly than in any other period in the development of mankind. At the same time the experience of the war and of the post-war decades, convincingly evidences that for the first time in human history the military might in the hands of the socialist states is being transformed from the factor of war into the factor of peace.

This new phenomenon in international relations starts from the birth of the Soviet state, which has declared the new principles of international relations in Lenin's Decree on Peace. Gradually gaining in strength, this phenomenon manifested itself in full measure during World War II, when the Soviet Armed Forces saved the world from the fascist invaders and defended the peoples' life and dignity, and democratic and social progress. The new phenomenon's influence kept growing in the post-war years, too, as the general alignment of forces was changing in favour of socialism and especially after America's nuclear monopoly was abolished and the so-called nuclear parity was achieved between the two opposed military-political groupings--NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. For 35 years now Europe has lived in peace due to the deterring influence of socialism's foreign policy, resting on its economic and defense capacities.

The strengthening military potential of the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community certainly has nothing to do with the invented "Soviet military threat," now irresponsibly exploited by Western propaganda. One should have morbid imagination to seriously think that the Soviet people, who lost 20 million lives during World War II, did that to strive for another war.

Socialism's military potential is entirely put to serve the cause of peace and its exclusively defensive doctrine. The Soviet foreign policy is principled and consistent. In deeds, and not in words, it proves that the Soviet Union has never been seeking military bases, spheres of influence, or some

other privileges at the expense of the other nations. The Soviet Union is resolutely against the position-of-strength policy and is ready to limit, ban, and withdraw any weapon from the arsenals on a mutually acceptable basis and with the undiminished security of the sides.

We believe that such a stand in international affairs takes a full account of the lessons of the past and meets the vital interests of all peoples.

CSO: 1812

INTERNATIONAL

THREAT POSED TO U.S. BY PRC STRESSED

LD241157 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Apr 80 p 3

[Article by Col A. Leontyev: "Don't Fall Into Your Own Trap...."]

[Text] Up to now Washington has been quite clear on the whole question of deliveries of weapons to China. Since the possibility of playing the "China card" exists, as Brzezinski assures us, why not gamble on this card? And so they did, gradually increasing the stakes. At first the United States allowed its NATO allies to sell weapons to Beijing. Then it began acting in that direction itself. Thus, it was announced recently that the United States has agreed to sell China C-130 military transport aircraft, telecommunications systems, radar systems and other military hardware designated "nonoffensive"....

There was more to come. Getting excited, the American gamblers are demanding an upping of the ante--to sell China any weapons. It is necessary, one "hawk" has declared, to arm China in such a way "that Moscow loses sleep." Not wishing to hamper its Beijing "friends," the Pentagon itself has calculated that China "needs modern weapons to the value of at least \$60 billion."

It "needs" them, of course, for war against the Soviet Union. Beijing's patrons had not even thought of the danger to the United States itself. And suddenly, like a bolt from the blue, there is a report in the WASHINGTON POST: "China has developed the CSS-X-4 ICBM with a range of 7800 miles, which is capable of striking at targets on U.S. territory." This "alarming news," the newspaper writes, means that China "can now threaten America with nuclear devastation."

The United States has shouted and is shouting such a lot about the imaginary "Soviet threat" that it has quite forgotten the real threat--from China. "Official government circles" the newspaper writes indignantly, "have constantly brushed aside all suggestions that the PRC represents a direct nuclear threat to our country...and referred to our supposedly firm 'friendship' with China." The time has come, in its opinion, to look the truth in the eyes and admit that "these friendly relations are, at best, unstable and could evaporate at any moment.... The Chinese still consider the United States their chief enemy after the Russians."

In other words, the gamble on the "China card" is creating a very obvious danger of a big loss for the United States. People on the other side of the ocean have recently begun speaking increasingly frequently and openly of this. "If there is a country in the world which corresponds to the picture of an aggressive and bellicose state, it is China," the NATION magazine pointed out recently. M. Toon, former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, warns: "We should be very cautious about the development of our relations with the Chinese.... We would be acting stupidly if we assumed that the Chinese intend to be our friends in the long term. They do not intend this." "Fears are growing," the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR has remarked still more gloomily, "that China, modernized with the help of America and other Western countries, could attack its partners and benefactors as soon as it ceases to need them."

What, then, is the outcome? Certain gentlemen in the United States so wanted us to "lose sleep," but now it turns out that they themselves cannot sleep. They are digging a trap for others and are afraid of falling into it themselves. And not without reason, it has to be said....

INTERNATIONAL

SOVIET CONTINGENT IN AFGHANISTAN HIGHLIGHTED

[LDO21159 Editorial Report] In a rare departure, Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian on 30 April frontpages two photographs apparently showing members of the Soviet "contingent" in Afghanistan. Top-right on the page, immediately below the masthead and covering four columns, is a four-times-seven-inch shot of four men in combat dress looking toward the camera from over a rocky hilltop, with another rocky ridge behind. One man is using binoculars, while a second is aiming a rifle or light machinegun; the other two are peering into the distance.

Immediately below, center-page, is a 4.5-times-5.5-inch shot of a flat area, as if a parade-ground or airfield, with rocky mountains behind, on which at least 50 and apparently many more men in various summer military uniforms are drawn up in ranks witnessing an award presentation; the presenting officer and recipient are shaking hands in the foreground.

The photographs are attributed to A. Sergeyev. They are not headlined, but are accompanied by the following caption:

"During the celebrations marking the 110th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth, a presentation of Lenin certificates of honor to combat and political training high fliers and top subunits which have achieved great successes in combat work was held in subunits of the limited contingent of Soviet troops which is in Afghanistan. The picture below shows Maj M. Kozlov presenting a Lenin certificate of honor to Maj A. Kalisetskiy (on the right).

"The top picture was taken during exercises by scouts [razvedchiki] commanded by officer V. Yegorov (second from right). His subordinates are operating skillfully and showing initiative and resourcefulness on the exercises."

CSO: 1800

INTERNATIONAL

UNITED STATES-CHINESE AGGRESSION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Moscow GUDOK in Russian 27 Mar 80 p 3

[Article by S. S. Modenov, candidate of historical sciences: "The Mekong Cannot Be Turned Back"]

[Text] S. S. Modenov was born in 1929. He was in the diplomatic service for a long time, including the Soviet Embassy in Japan. He later worked in the Institute of the International Workers Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences and on the TRUD newspaper staff. He is now the head of the Asian and African division of the journal MEZHODUNARODNAYA ZHIZN'. He is a candidate of historical sciences.

Washington has recently issued increasingly frequent statements containing unconcealed threats to resort once again to overt armed intervention in various parts of the world where events take an inconvenient turn for the United States. The appropriate "material base" is even being established for armed intervention in the affairs of other states. The Pentagon has announced, in particular, the formation of a "rapid response corps" to perform police functions in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America. A contingent of 1,600 Marines from this unit has already been moved closer to the Iranian coastline.

This naturally brings to mind the results of past revivals of "gunboat policy." American imperialism was unable to bring the courageous Vietnamese people to their knees. Armed U.S. invasions of other parts of the planet--Korea, Panama, the Middle East and so forth--did not produce the desired results either.

An extensive campaign has been launched in the American and Chinese press in connection with the current state of affairs in Southeast Asia. Turning the facts upside-down, Washington and Beijing propagandists are trying to accuse the three Indochinese countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea of escalating tension and supposedly endangering the peace and security of people in this region. People in Washington and Beijing are deliberately misrepresenting the true purpose of the assistance and support our

nation has given the SRV, LPDR and PRK, and are even prepared to accuse the Soviet Union of "destabilizing" the situation in Southeast Asia.

No one is likely to deny that tension does exist in Southeast Asia at present. But whose concrete actions gave rise to it and have kept it alive? The facts irrefutably testify that the main cause was the aggression of U.S. imperialism and the Chinese hegemonists.

In a recent speech to the Committee on International Relations of the House of Representatives of Congress, U.S. Secretary of Defense H. Brown tried to amplify and "substantiate" the Carter Administration's adventurist foreign policy line and to conceal the real goals of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East and the flagrant American intervention in the internal affairs of Iran, Afghanistan and other sovereign states. The Pentagon chief reasserted Washington's uncerecermonious claims to the "right" to arbitrarily call regions separated from the United States by thousands of kilometers "spheres of vital U.S. interests." He reaffirmed that Southeast Asia was on the U.S. list of "strategically important zones."

American imperialism is trying to force the Southeast Asian people to take part in its militaristic plans and is striving to turn this region into a support base for a further U.S. advance in the direction of the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf.

The United States is supplying weapons and military equipment to several states in the region on a broad scale. Just last year, shipments of this kind to Thailand, made on the false pretext of protection from the "Vietnamese threat," quadrupled, for example, reaching a total of 400 million dollars. Washington is stubbornly insisting on the transformation of the ASEAN (this asso ation is made up of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand the Philippines) into a military anticommunist organization following Pentagon orders. At a meeting of the foreign ministers of the ASEAN and Common Market countries, which recently came to an end in Kuala Lumpur, certain documents were adopted, under obvious pressure from the West, which contain an almost word-for-word repetition of American views on the state of affairs in Kampuchea and on the Thai-Kampuchean border, as well as attacks on the policy of the USSR and socialist Vietnam. The United States is vigorously striving to resurrect the now disintegrated aggressive SEATO bloc and create new military alliances.

Beijing is not lagging behind its overseas "partner." Ever since the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese treaty and the normalization of Sino-American relations, the Chinese leaders have given more and more preference to forceful methods of action. Incidentally, experts have calculated that 19 of the 30 armed conflicts in Asia since World War II were initiated by Beijing.

It is no secret that great-power chauvinism and hegemonism constitute the basis of Chinese foreign policy. But these features are probably reflected most vividly in Beijing's attitude toward the three states of

Indochina--Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. It must be said that the goals and mode of action of today's Beijing leaders in Southeast Asia, especially Indochina, differ little from the policies of Chinese emperors of the past. Throughout China's history, its rulers have always been displeased by the existence of independent, strong states on their southern border. Throughout China's history, its rulers have tried to expand the territory of the "Celestial Kingdom" by means of war and aggression against their relatively small neighbors.

Nationalistically inclined figures in today's Chinese leadership have inherited the tradition of expansionism. Hegemonistic claims to the territory of the PRC's neighboring states, including Vietnam, Laos, Burma, India, the MPR and other countries, were reasserted, in the form of a list of territories that supposedly "historically belonged" to China, in a reference work entitled "China. General Information" and published by Waiwen chubanshe firm in 1979.

In essence, Beijing has launched an undeclared war against the three Indochinese countries on all fronts. This aggressive campaign began on 7 January 1979, when the bloody regime of Beijing's proteges, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, came to an end in Kampuchea. In February and March, a Chinese army of 600,000 invaded the territory of socialist Vietnam from the North. A large formation of PRC troops simultaneously concentrated on the border with people's Laos, threatening to attack. As for Kampuchea, Beijing has announced a motto of "prolonged war" against the new government in this country.

The outcome of the Chinese hegemonists' military adventure is well known. The people and government of Laos firmly resisted the Maoists' attempts. China's hope of attaining its great-power goals by military means also failed in Kampuchea.

But American imperialist forces and Beijing have not abandoned their expansionist plans. They are using every possible excuse to continue intervening in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. Western and Chinese special services are sending mercenaries into this country and are supplying counterrevolutionaries with weapons and ammunition. The territory of Thailand is being used, with the silent consent of the authorities, for raids by counterrevolutionary gangs.

Beijing unilaterally broke off the second round of talks on the normalization of Vietnamese-Chinese relations. The Chinese side regularly instigates provocations on the border with the SRV and threatens Vietnam with another invasion. For example, within the space of just one day, 16 February, when the coming of the lunar new year was being celebrated in Vietnam and China, Chinese troops intruded on SRV territories six times. At present, 15 Chinese divisions and 6 army corps, as well as large quantities of tanks, missiles and airplanes, are concentrated near the border of socialist Vietnam.

The Chinese hegemonists are constantly committing hostile actions against Laos, particularly its northern provinces.

Beijing is treating the Southeast Asian countries perfidiously. The Chinese leaders are setting them against one another, trying, in particular, to set Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore and Burma against Vietnam, Laos and people's Kampuchea to weaken their resistance to China's own hegemonistic ambitions.

The people of Indochina have a proverb which says that time, like the deep and powerful Mekong, cannot be turned back. The campaign of political badgering, the military blackmail and the overtly aggressive actions of the imperialists and Maoists have not weakened the three fraternal Indochinese states, as Washington and Beijing had hoped, but have strengthened their combat friendship and solidarity even more. This was demonstrated once more at a January meeting of the foreign ministers of the PRK, LPDR and SRV in Phnom Penh.

At this meeting in Phnom Penh, it was stressed that the greatest and most strategically significant joint triumph of the three nations in the past year was the unprecedented consolidation of their combat solidarity. As a result of the indissoluble ties connecting Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the joint communique said, this solidarity made it possible to ward off the attacks of all aggressors. It changed the balance of power in Southeast Asia in favor of national independence and social progress.

8588

CSO: 1800

INTERNATIONAL

NEW BOOK BY INSTITUTE OF U.S., CANADIAN STUDIES ON U.S. STRATEGY

Vil'nyus SOVetskaya Litva in Russian 30 Mar 80 p 3

[Review by B. Petin of the book "Global'naya strategiya SShA v usloviyakh nauchno-tekhnicheskoy revolyutsii" (The Global Strategy of the United States Under the Conditions of Technological Revolution), Moscow, Mysl', 1979]

[Text] In the last third of our century, mankind as a whole has been faced by several problems whose resolution will depend largely on the nature and development of international relations and the foreign policy aims of the parties chiefly involved. In this connection, a recently published monograph, written by a group of researchers from the Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is quite informative.

The new book is a comprehensive and multileveled study of deep-seated and long-term processes developing in the United States under the influence of the technological revolution, a study of the way in which the technological revolution is affecting the main aspects of the foreign policy of a large capitalist state. For the reader with an interest in international affairs, the contents of the book provide some answers to the question of the actual prospects of the political aims now being pursued by the U.S. administration, and the consequences of this, primarily in regard to the United States itself.

The book begins with an investigation of the fundamental aspects of the technological revolution's effects on U.S. global strategy and an analysis of the reasons why ruling circles in this nation have stressed the use of scientific and technical achievements in the class interests of their policy, both domestic and foreign.

The authors provide a detailed description and analysis of several important areas of foreign policy in which the ruling class of the largest capitalist power is trying to make use of its scientific and technical capabilities. One of these is the improvement of military equipment for the implementation of strong technological potential in the form of

military potential. Another is the use of scientific and technical strength for the purpose of foreign economic expansion. A third is the establishment of new forms of dependence with other countries, relations in which the other countries are ultimately "linked" with U.S. technological potential.

For a number of objective reasons, U.S. imperialism has not been able to attain its global objectives in any of these areas. The main reason has been that, despite all the significance of the technological revolution, it cannot be the only process affecting the course of world events. A deciding role, among other reasons, was played by the development of social revolutionary processes in the world and the failure of the United States, in spite of its considerable potential, to establish and maintain a monopoly on the achievements of the technological revolution, including the decisive achievements of particular importance to foreign policy aims.

Aspects of the military policy of U.S. imperialism are discussed in detail in the book, foreign policy strategy is analyzed, and new foreign policy aims engendered by the technological revolution are examined. All of this is done with the aid of abundant factual and statistical material, which makes the analysis extremely convincing and valuable.

A separate chapter is devoted to an analysis of the development of U.S.-Soviet technological contacts as an objective and subjective factor in the peaceful existence and rivalry of states with diverse social structures.

The history of the development of these contacts after two decades of cold war and discrimination is described in the book with the aid of abundant factual material. The U.S. agreement to this was not at all motivated by goodwill, but by the pressure of circumstances which could no longer be ignored. As the authors point out, however, although the United States has formally recognized the principles of peaceful coexistence as the only basis for the development of interrelations with the USSR, it has not reached the point of being guided in its daily activity by the principles of complete equality, mutual advantage and nonintervention in the internal affairs of others.

The contents of the book conclusively prove that the present political line of the U.S. administration, which culminated in anti-Soviet hysteria in the White House, is certainly not the result of any recent foreign political developments. It is a continuation of the same old line under new conditions, signifying limited cooperation with the socialist states and the restriction of scientific and technical contacts and communications within narrow bounds by preventing their development in some spheres and by making technological cooperation in other spheres conditional upon unacceptable concessions on the part of the socialist states.

This line in relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, the authors conclude, cannot be productive from the standpoint of long-range American interests. "Sooner or later the subjective interest of American

ruling circles will unavoidably conflict with objective reality--the increasing involvement of the United States and other capitalist countries in scientific and technical contacts and economic ties with the socialist states, which will unavoidably heighten the general interest of the Western countries in the development of scientific and technical cooperation on a broad and nondiscriminatory basis."

This new book about U.S. strategy at a time of technological revolution will be of great interest to readers.

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CSO: 1800

INTERNATIONAL

PRESERVING STRATEGIC EQUALITY IN INTERESTS OF PEACE

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 3, Mar 80 signed to press 5 Mar 80 pp 3-16

[Article by O. Bykov, Chief of the International Relations Department of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations: "The Main Problem of Mankind"]

[Text] The consistent and creative pursuit by the CPSU and the Soviet Government of a policy of peace, detente and disarmament and the implementation of the Peace Program, which was advanced by the 24th and 25th congresses of our party, have made it possible to make impressive achievements on the world arena. "If we look at things on a broad scale, the main thing, which it has been possible to do," L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, "has been to break the tragic cycle: world war--a brief peaceful respite--again world war. We, the Soviet people, and our friends--the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, everyone who is striving for peace, detente and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems--have the right to be proud of this historical result."

In all historical eras war had left an indelible mark on social development. But in our times mankind has been faced with a threat of war, such as has not existed before. This threat has taken on truly global dimensions. The appearance of fundamentally new means and methods of armed warfare has turned the entire globe into a potential theater of military operations. A new world war, if it is not averted, carries the threat of unheard of misfortunes. The use of the monstrous means of mass destruction, which were developed as a result of the scientific and technical revolution, would result in a colossal number of victims and would turn the major centers of world production and world culture into ruins.

The peculiar nature of the situation which has formed is governed, of course, not only by the existence of nuclear weapons. The revolution in military affairs took place during an era of the most profound changes--both in the domestic development of many countries and in their interrelations. The world revolutionary process is developing, the struggle for social and national liberation is increasing. The world positions of the

socialist community are becoming stronger. The general crisis of capitalism is intensifying. The historical competition between the states of the socialist and capitalist systems is picking up speed.

More and more contradictory combinations of rivalry and partnership are arising within the imperialist camp. The hegemonic policy of Beijing is seriously complicating the distribution of forces on the world arena. The antagonism between the highly industrialized capitalist countries and the developing states is becoming more acute. The socio-economic and political differentiation of the countries, which have been liberated from colonial dependence, is becoming more pronounced, and at the same time an overall increase of their share in international relations is occurring.

The potential of an unprecedented destructive force is being created under conditions when a large number of deep-seated processes are occurring in the world economy. The opportunities for the effective international division of labor and for equal and mutually advantageous cooperation are being broadened on the basis of the scientific and technical revolution. At the same time the development of world economic ties is being paralyzed by the aggravation of the contradictions and crisis situations in the capitalist economy and by the selfish interests of the monopolies. The need to rearrange international economic relations in conformity with the established realities is becoming more and more urgent. Such pressing problems as the provision of the population with foodstuffs and industry with energy and raw materials, environmental protection, the development of the world ocean, space and so forth, are on the agenda. What has been said acquires particular urgency and topicality under the conditions when the imperialist forces, first of all the most reactionary and aggressive circles of the United States and the Chinese hegemonists, who are acting in concert with them, are striving to shift the historical competition of the two systems from a course of peaceful coexistence and detente to a path of hostile confrontation. For the sake of their own selfish interests they are irresponsibly and recklessly risking the fate of the world.

The scope of the danger is unprecedented. But never before have there been such mighty forces capable of averting the unleashing of a new world war. The fraternal socialist countries, the international working class, the national liberation movement and the progressive, peace-loving public are tirelessly putting up obstacles in the path of the imperialist aggressors and all kinds of aspirants to hegemony. Realistically thinking figures in the leading circles of the bourgeois states cannot but realize that there is no reasonable alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The scale of the potential catastrophe is also responsible for the interest of mankind in averting it. The problem of war and peace is now emerging as one of the most important problems of historical development, as a central issue of world politics.

In the approach to the fundamental problem of war and peace the foreign policy of socialism expresses simultaneously both class and general

democratic interests, that is, in essence the interests of all mankind. As V. I. Lenin said, "the greatest manifestation of democracy lies in the main question of war and peace."¹

I

The development of nuclear missile weapons caused a genuine revolution in military affairs. A qualitative jump in the material resources of armed warfare, which has no equals in history, took place. This entailed a cardinal revision of the methods of waging war and radically changed the role and importance in such warfare of the factors of time and distance.

Nuclear warheads have a colossal destructive force. A power, which exceeds by several times the force of all the explosives used during World War II and even during the entire existence of mankind, can be concentrated in just one thermonuclear warhead. The destructive power of nuclear weapons, which is multiplied by the mass nature of their use, is increasing enormously in combination with their main delivery systems--ballistic missiles. An unlimited range, practical invulnerability, an enormous flight speed and altitude, a great targeting accuracy, a great fire mobility, the ability to carry a nuclear warhead of any power--all this ensures the possibility of the delivery of sudden strikes and of the lightning and guaranteed destruction of a large number of targets simultaneously at the front and in the deep rear. In essence with the advent of nuclear missile weapons the traditional notion of a front and a rear disappeared.

It is now impossible to keep an armed conflict of the main socio-economic and political forces, which oppose each other in the world, within a traditional theater of military operations: it is fraught with the rapid escalation of an arisen conflict far beyond the boundaries of its initial center. The impossibility of effective defense against a nuclear attack makes not only and not so much the armed forces drawn into the conflict as the territories of their and many other countries, the population, industrial, administrative-political and cultural centers, agriculture and railways its targets. Our entire planet could be the arena of fighting.

In the case of the exchange of nuclear strikes the number of killed at the first stages of the conflict would be measured not by the tens, but by the hundreds of millions of people, and mainly civilians. Others would be exposed to lethal radiation and would die from diseases and famine. It is impossible even to imagine the scale of destruction of physical assets. Enormous expanses of land would be transformed into desolate wastelands contaminated by radiation.

The truly apocalyptic outlines of the disasters threatening the world in themselves, of course, cannot eliminate the possibility of an outbreak of

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 40, p 92.

war with the use of weapons of mass destruction. The danger of a total nuclear conflict is inherent in the policy of the aggressive circles, which aspire to aggravate the confrontation of the two systems and are developing more and more lethal means for this.

Attempting to forcibly reverse social progress, imperialism, which has already twice plunged mankind into the depths of world conflicts, immediately after World War II placed the emphasis on the use of qualitatively new means of armed warfare. The advent of atomic weapons in the United States and its monopoly in them during the first postwar years intensified the military force trends in the foreign policy of the American ruling circles. At that time the military-political leadership of the United States openly supported the maximum utilization of its nuclear monopoly to ensure American supremacy in the world and to institute "Pax Americana." But the most aggressive politicians and strategists bluntly called for an attack on the Soviet Union for the purpose of "replaying" the outcome of World War II and eliminating socialism by means of the "absolute weapon."

Having placed the emphasis on nuclear blackmail and other military force aspects of the confrontation with socialism, the leaders of the United States and other imperialist states at the same time launched an offensive on the political, ideological and economic fronts. They created the largest aggressive military machine in history--the North Atlantic bloc with its undisguised anti-Soviet, antisocialist orientation. They imposed an economic blockade against the USSR and other socialist countries, attempting to impede their postwar restoration. They imposed on the world the Cold War, which was fraught with development into a universal military conflagration. The serious threat of an outbreak of a new world war, in which imperialism, counting adventuristically on its impunity, would be able to use weapons of mass destruction, was created.

But the carrying out of such monstrous designs encountered insurmountable obstacles. The opportunities of imperialism to resolve the historical dispute with socialism by means of military force were sharply restricted.

The rapid change in the overall balance of forces in favor of socialism was the most important condition of the lessening, and then the elimination of the danger of the outbreak of a world nuclear war in this situation. The socio-economic, ideological and other nonmilitary advantages of socialism and the strengthening of its international prestige and world positions played a decisive role in this. At the same time, of course, the strengthening of the defensive capability of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, which 30 years ago formed the Warsaw Pact Organization in order to repulse the aggressive inclinations of imperialism, acquired paramount importance.

The development in the shortest possible time of those types of weapons and military equipment, which could neutralize the military might of the potential aggressor, became a vitally important task for the Soviet Union and for world socialism. A developed economic base, the latest achievements of

science and technology, the dedicated labor of scientists and workers--all this enabled the Soviet Union to develop its own nuclear missile weapons and other means of armed combat, which are in no way inferior to those of the United States. The elimination of the U.S. nuclear monopoly and its strategic invulnerability and the considerable strengthening of the defensive capability of the USSR and its allies on the whole served as an impressive contribution to the overall increase of the might of socialism and all peace-loving forces as a decisive factor for averting a total armed conflict.

The shifts in the balance of military forces in combination with the steady strengthening of the overall world positions of socialism gave rise to a new global strategic situation. The impossibility of a disarming nuclear missile attack and the inevitability of a crimpling retaliatory attack on the aggressor became its main features. Regardless of the differences in the structure of the opposing strategic forces a balance was formed, which precludes the possibility of achieving decisive superiority by one side over the other. This is the enormous, truly historical service to mankind of real socialism, which, relying on its advantages as an advanced social system, by the enormous exertion of efforts was able to neutralize the challenge issued to it by imperialism in the sphere of science and technology and thereby to halt the dangerous slide of the world toward the military abyss. The creation of a global balance of military forces, and particularly of strategic parity between the USSR and the United States, laid the foundation for arms limitation and progress toward disarmament. L. I. Brezhnev declared with all certainty: "We are not trying to achieve military superiority over the West, we do not need it. We need merely dependable security. But the security of both sides will undoubtedly be greater, if we curb the arms race, halt military preparations and improve the political climate of international contacts."²

At the same time the situation of global strategic parity clearly does not suit the most aggressive groups in the imperialist camp. Their militaristic aims have always been directed toward the use of military force over the broadest range--from the threat of its use to direct armed intervention. The aspiration to bring the world back to the times when, it is believed, imperialism had some military advantages, is their reaction to strategic parity. For these purposes the aggressive circles are stepping up the arms race, are mobilizing considerable economic, scientific and technical means of the industrially developed capitalist countries and are striving to achieve strategic superiority over socialism.

Starting in 1978 the United States began to step up efforts--both its own and of its allies--on the expansion and acceleration of military preparations. In May 1978 the session of the NATO Council in Washington approved an additional arms program, which was intended for many years ahead. The Brussels session of the council of the bloc in December 1979, under U.S.

2. PRAVDA, 16 January 1979.

pressure, decided to deploy new American nuclear weapons systems in Western Europe. At the same time President J. Carter announced a five-year program on the further increase of U.S. military efforts and announced an unprecedented increase of appropriations for military purposes, which in accordance with the draft of the U.S. Federal Budget for fiscal 1981 will be \$161.8 billion (\$20 billion more than the defense appropriations requested initially by the administration for fiscal 1980). Subsequently an increase of real (that is, with allowance made for inflation) defense spending by more than 4.6 percent a year is envisaged.

The five-year U.S. military program has in view first of all the expansion and qualitative improvement of the arsenal of strategic arms. The President declared that the production of cruise missiles is starting in 1980. We need, he said, the MX mobile intercontinental ballistic missile, which is capable of destroying numerous targets on the territory of the Soviet Union. In his words, work is under way on the new Trident underwater system, and the first of the rockets of this system with a range of more than 4,000 miles are already being deployed.

The extensive five-year program also includes an increase of U.S. conventional military power, including the reinforcement of American forces in NATO and in the Pacific Ocean; rapid deployment forces, which are intended for regions outside the sphere of operation of the North Atlantic bloc, are being set up at a stepped up pace. Thus, American imperialism conceived the idea to transform the policy of supremacy on any continents and in all oceans into a permanent institution.

The attempts to change the established global balance of strategic forces in our times is a practically unfulfillable task. "Jerks" in the arms race can, of course, lead to a destabilization of the established balance and give temporary unilateral advantages in one sector or another of the confrontation. But they are not able to cancel out the basic fact that the elimination of the nuclear monopoly and the strategic invulnerability of the United States changed fundamentally the entire world situation. And if the strategic parity is upset by one side, the other is capable of reducing to naught the advantages gained by the former by the additional build-up of its might. As a result, equality is reestablished at a higher level, as the price of great material outlays and in the end with a lesser degree of mutual security.

II

The equalization of the level of strategic power significantly complicated the conducting of an aggressive policy by imperialist circles. At the same time global strategic parity is by no means--and cannot be--the ultimate and most reasonable state of the interrelations of the states of the two opposed systems, which are called upon to ensure the maintenance, and what is more the strengthening of international peace. Although such parity has become an objective reality, it is liable to the distabilizing influence of a number of factors. Moreover, it contains elements of internal instability.

Let us begin with the fact that strategic parity is not static, but dynamic. The arsenals of stockpiled means of mass destruction are constantly being added to and improved. Scientific and technical progress is affording newer and newer opportunities for the development of more and more complex nuclear missile weapons systems. There are also significant structural differences in the armed forces and arms of the opposing sides.

Such differences cannot but create considerable objective difficulties on the level of the maintenance of a stable strategic balance. However, they are being aggravated considerably by the fact that the imperialist circles are placing military technical progress in the service of their concepts, which are called upon to provide them with tangible advantages in the competition with the other side. In this case it is no longer a matter of simple "modernization," but of the aspiration to develop qualitatively new weapons systems.

Those developments, which can lead to "technological breakthroughs" and the development of fundamentally new types of weapons of mass destruction, are especially dangerous. Then additional components would have to be introduced in the established equation of nuclear missile forces, which would involve a substantial revision of the current strategic parity.

Of course, it is a very difficult matter to achieve the stabilization of strategic parity at a specific level. But it is becoming infinitely more difficult under the conditions when the United States is attempting to achieve unilateral advantages in the nuclear arms race. It is easier to slow down such a race at its lowest levels. If favorable opportunities are missed, the subsequent cycles in the matter of stockpiling and improving weapons complicate greatly the solution of the problem, for the development of military technology is outdistancing the process of checking the arms race.

The instability of strategic parity also gives rise to the well-known phenomenon of "action--reaction." The development and deployment by one party of one or another weapons systems, as a rule, evoke countermeasures of the other party in the form of the development of either similar or other comparable systems of the "equalization of the balance" of strategic forces.

Influential imperialist circles, which are especially linked with the military-industrial complex and therefore are interested in the continuation and acceleration of the arms race, are stepping up the development of the closed "action--reaction" cycle. Starting with a certain "action" on the level of the build-up of strategic forces, they count on the appropriate "reaction in response" and on the pretext of "reaction" undertake a "new action" on a higher level of military confrontation. Such was the case, for example, with the equipment of American ballistic missiles with multiple warheads. The Soviet Union took the necessary steps to maintain strategic parity. Then, ostensibly by way of "reaction," the United States began the drafting

of programs for the development of a new generation of strategic weapons--the MX mobile intercontinental ballistic missile and cruise missiles.

The perpetual following of the principle of "action--reaction" leads to the stockpiling of lethal weapons and the waste of enormous material resources for unproductive purposes. The escalation of the process of developing material resources for waging war is capable of upsetting the balanced correlation of strategic forces and thereby of causing the complication of the international situation.

The mutual counterbalancing of strategic forces to a certain extent alleviates their opposition, places it within a certain framework and introduces some stability into the interrelations of the states. At the same time it remains a broad field of military rivalry, which, if it is not checked, becomes more intensive and develops in more and more dangerous directions of the development of means of mass destruction. And this cannot but have a negative influence on all the processes of international cooperation and the strengthening of universal security.

The policy of imperialism is the first cause of the competition in the military sphere, including the field of strategic arms. Precisely it remains the primary motive force of the arms race. The militaristic policy of the Chinese leadership is joining it.

At the same time the arms race itself, which picked up great speed and acquired an extensive scope, gained an enormous inertial force. The large-scale production of arms on a long-term basis in combination with the growing requirements of the gigantic military machine is having the strongest "backlash" on the policy of the bourgeois states.

From what has been said, of course, it does not follow that the established strategic parity is such a fragile structure that it threatens to crumble at any moment under the pressure of destabilizing factors. In the present situation the necessary conditions exist not only for the maintenance of parity, but also for its further strengthening in the interests of universal peace. The shattering of the foundation, on the laying of which so much time and effort was needed, can and should be averted. And, all the same, the equality of strategic forces is only the starting line for progress along the path of the elimination of the military threat. Only the intensification and broadening of detente and the curbing of the arms race are capable of leading to a reduction of the level of military confrontation.

III

The fundamentally new content of the problem of war and peace in our times also requires fundamentally new approaches to its solution. For all the differences in ideology and social systems, the joint efforts of states on a global scale on the only reasonable common platform--the prevention of the catastrophic disaster threatening mankind--has become a vital necessity.

It cannot be said that in the leading circles of the capitalist countries the views on the problem of war and peace have remained invariable. For it cannot be otherwise under the conditions of the continuous strengthening of the positions of the forces of peace and social progress and with the continuation of the threat of thermonuclear conflict. The fact that given the established balance of forces the carrying out of imperialist designs by forcible means can turn into a serious danger for their initiators is becoming more and more obvious to the most far-sighted politicians of the West. At the same time the militaristic circles are not repudiating aggressive aims and are seeking new forms as applied to the changing situation in order to realize them.

Up until the 1960's the military preparations of the United States were carried out under the guise of the strategy of so-called massive retaliation. Its aggressive essence, no matter with what it was camouflaged, stemmed from the imperialist policy "from a position of strength," the policy of "deterrence." The appraisal of the distribution of forces by American military and political leaders, which was based on the assumption of the existence of U.S. military superiority over the Soviet Union, was the basis for it. This risky, unreliable appraisal gave rise to the conviction of the ability of the United States to undertake a massive nuclear attack on the USSR and its allies with a minimal risk of retaliatory strikes.

The significant changes in the global military-strategic situation forced the leading circles of Washington to reject "massive retaliation." The strategy of "flexible response," which provided for the significant broadening of the range of military means intended for use and for the direct and indirect use of military force--both nuclear and conventional--replaced it. But, as before, it includes as the decisive component the capability of the United States to unleash and wage a total nuclear war. This condition also remains mandatory for the latest modifications of the strategy of "flexible response."

However, neither military-strategic nor military-technical improvements are able to return to imperialism the opportunity it lost to determine at its own discretion the fate of war and peace. Given the established balance of forces, including the new strategic balance, military force is become less and less suitable as a means of solving the historical dispute between the two social systems.

The lack of a reasonable alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence is also forcing the leaders of the bourgeois world to declare more and more often the mutual interest of socialist and capitalist states in averting a total nuclear war. Nevertheless, traditional militaristic thinking, which is even being adapted to the new situation, is paralyzing the development of realistic trends in the foreign policy of many western states. The elaboration of various doctrines and concepts, of which the possibility of unleashing a nuclear war is a central element, is continuing in imperialist circles.

Socialism has a different approach to the problem of war and peace. The use of force is alien to its very nature. Peaceableness is fundamentally inherent in socialist foreign policy. The harsh reality of the military confrontation imposed by imperialism is forcing the USSR and its allies to take the appropriate steps to strengthen their defensive capability. But these steps have never exceeded and do not exceed the minimum, which is necessary to guarantee security. The defensive might, which has been created by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, makes it possible to repulse the attack of any aggressor, no matter what means and methods of waging war he uses. In case of an attack on the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community retaliation would be inevitable.

The level and orientation of the armed might of the Soviet Union are dictated by its military-strategic doctrine. It is not making the achievement of military superiority its goal. It has never been and is not the intention of the Soviet Union to threaten any state or group of states whatsoever. "Soviet strategic doctrine is of a thoroughly defensive nature," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in his speech of 6 October 1979. Of course, USSR military doctrine is inseparable from its foreign policy strategy which, in turn, is rooted in the class, ideological and political principles of socialist society, its peaceableness and a genuinely scientific notion of the means of peaceful development.

Lenin's teachings on war and peace underwent further creative development in the specific historical situation. The conclusion of the CPSU about the real possibility of averting a world war under present conditions is of enormous theoretical and political importance. Basing itself on a thorough analysis and scientific generalization of the latest social phenomena, our party came to the conclusion that with the determined opposition to the aggressive policy of imperialism on the part of world socialism, the international workers' movement and all anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces it is possible to avert the unleashing of a new world war. The assumptions advanced by the CPSU on the fundamental problem of the present evoked the broadest response of the international public and received support in the activity of the Marxist-Leninist parties. The international communist and workers' movement in their collectively elaborated documents confirmed the conclusion about the absence of a fatal inevitability of war.

The Maoist leadership of China, which came out as an actual apologist of world war, took a different position. But the time has long passed when the touting of war, which came from Beijing, has been explained by some people as the "theoretical immaturity" and "practical inexperience" of the Maoists and was even frequently regarded as evidence of their "super-revolutionariness."

For genuine Marxist-Leninists the insincere and dangerous nature of such mottoes was obvious from the very start. The Maoists needed it not at all for opposing imperialism: they opposed their "theory of war" to the peaceable Leninist policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state and the policy of the

international communist movement of eliminating the threat of world war and guaranteeing the security of peoples.

Now Beijing's leaders and propagandists have completely abandoned the pseudo-revolutionary disguise: now they plainly "substantiate" the inevitability of war from the standpoint of hegemonism and open anti-Sovietism. The logic of the development of social chauvinism and its embodiment in the real state policy of China have made obvious what from the very start was inherent in the ideology of Maoism, namely the emphasis in foreign policy on the forcible affirmation of world hegemony. The approach of the leaders of China to the cardinal problems of war and peace does not leave any doubt that in the interests of establishing their dominion over the world they are purposefully directing matters toward the provocation of an all-out, first of all, of course, a Soviet-American, conflict which would result in the death of hundreds of millions of people of many countries.

Beijing's leaders regard the Soviet Union and the socialist community as their main enemy and the reactionary imperialist forces as an actual ally. The more and more open convergence, especially in recent times, of the anti-Soviet, antisocialist positions of the Chinese leaders with the aims of the most reactionary circles of imperialism and their actual cooperation in the matter of increasing international tension, returning to the Cold War and preparing for a "hot" war are therefore quite natural.

In trying to overcome the resistance of the militaristic forces, not matter where it came from, the Soviet Union consistently paved the way to the improvement of the international climate and the elimination of the war danger. The concerted policy of the fraternal countries to a decisive extent was conducive to positive changes in the world situation, to the wide recognition of the principles of peaceful coexistence as the standard of the relations of states with different social systems and to the turn from the Cold War to detente. Real opportunities and the urgent need arose for the reciprocal efforts of the states of the opposing systems, which are aimed at the lessening of the danger of a global nuclear missile conflict.

Multilateral and bilateral agreements and negotiations, especially the process of Europe-wide cooperation, promoted the elaboration and consolidation in international affairs of the rules and principles of the mutual advantageous relations of states. The Helsinki forum was an event of enormous historical importance, and the Final Act adopted by it raised serious moral, political and legal obstacles in the way of fanciers of military adventures.

The improvement, which took place in the first half of the 1970's, in Soviet-American relations, on the state of which the fate of universal peace largely depends, was the most important contribution to the cause of averting a global armed conflict. Basic documents, which specify as the basis of these relations the principles of peaceful coexistence, as is set forth in the Principles of Interrelations Between the USSR and the United States, were signed as a result of a large number of summit meetings. The Agreement on the prevention of nuclear war contains the mutual obligation to exert

efforts to eliminate the risk of a military conflict, especially a nuclear conflict, both between themselves and between each of the parties and other states. The conclusion of the Treaty limiting antiballistic missile systems, the Interim Agreement on strategic offensive arms limitation (SALT-I), the signing in Vienna in June 1979 of the SALT-II Treaty, as well as other Soviet-American understandings and mutual understandings, which are aimed at checking the arms race and further reducing the war threat, and the understandings, which are now being openly sabotaged by the Carter Administration, were also of great importance.

The interrelations of the Soviet Union with France, the GDR, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Canada and other capitalist countries began to be developed on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The policy of a large number of neutral and nonaligned countries promoted the creation of a healthier atmosphere in the world. The service on the part of the popular masses, the movement of the supporters of peace and all peace-loving social movements and organizations in opposing the aggressive forces is great.

In the atmosphere of international detente the opportunities to work actively against the military threat were broadened appreciably, the realistic trend in the policy of the bourgeois states intensified and the objective conditions for eliminating world war from the life of mankind began to form.

However, serious obstacles rose in the way of the achievement of this goal, difficulties appeared, which were caused by the duality of the policy of the bourgeois states, on which the military-industrial complexes, as well as at times the very complex interconnection of the stereotypes of the Cold War and the realistic trends have an enormous influence. The zigzags of the policy of the western powers are connected with the stepping up of the activity of the opponents of detente, the domestic political struggle and other considerations with regard to the situation.

In recent times the enemies of detente have been earnestly speculating in the so-called Afghan question. The determined repulse by the Soviet Union of the "exporting of counterrevolution" to Afghanistan evoked the bitter reaction of the imperialist circles and the Chinese leaders. By deliberately and shamelessly distorting the role of the USSR in Afghan affairs, they are attempting to shift on to it the responsibility for the deterioration of the international situation. In reality it is just the other way around: it is precisely the aggressive forces in the West and the Beijing hegemonists, who for a long time now have been striking one blow after another against detente, who promoted the creation of the conditions under which the events in Afghanistan took place. Everyone knows that the United States along with its Chinese and other accomplices armed and brought into this country tens of thousands of rebels and, in point of fact, waged an undeclared war against it. The support from without of the internal counterrevolution threatened the gains of the people's government and the independence of the young democratic state. On the southern border of the Soviet Union the center of a

serious threat to its security emerged. The commitment of a limited Soviet military contingent to Afghanistan at the request of its leadership put a stop to the most dangerous development of events. But the opponents of detente decided to take advantage of the situation in order to further escalate their actions, which are hostile to the cause of universal peace and international security.

The U.S. administration embarked upon the direct undermining of the cause of detente. Moreover, it conceived the design to revive the policy "from a position of strength," dictation and interference in the internal affairs of many states. It cancelled important intergovernmental documents, to say nothing about its own declarations. Before us is a clear challenge to the orderly international law system of relations between states, which is having a destabilizing influence on the entire situation in the world.

IV

International development has approached the point where, let us say frankly, a paradoxical situation has formed. On the one hand, the real opportunities for detente in the military sphere are increasing, on the other the aggressive militaristic forces are stepping up the arms race.

Weapons of mass destruction continue to be improved qualitatively, incorporating the latest scientific and technical achievements, and their number is constantly increasing.

The group of states, which are being drawn into the race in the area of the stockpiling of weapons, is enlarging. Following the major powers, many medium-sized and small countries, including in the developing world, are embarking on the creation of significant military arsenals.

The arms burden is weighing more and more heavily on the people. Nonproductive military expenditures are depriving them of a considerable and constantly increasing share of the wealth created by persistent labor and are hampering the solution of ripe problems of all mankind. But the main thing is that the unchecked arms race is leading to a new increase of the danger of nuclear war.

The harm being done to military detente by the stepped up attempts of the militaristic circles of imperialism to upset in their favor the established balance of military forces is immeasurable. Meanwhile, the gradual reduction of the level of military opposition, which does not undermine, but, on the contrary, strengthens the security of each people and state and international peace, requires the working out of a carefully weighed balance of the interests of each people and state. But it is permissible to ask, how is this to be achieved, if some influential circles in the West are casting doubt, especially in recent times, on the very basic principle of any serious measures on arms limitation and reduction--the established strategic parity?

The already existing practice of checking the arms race convincingly shows: with the existence of mutual political will it is possible to place under control the most complex military technical parameters. This, of course, is far from a simple matter, but under the conditions of a global strategic balance there are no types of weapons, which could not be effectively limited and actually reduced on the basis of equality and reciprocity. The same practice also attests that the limitation of the process of improving arms is also really feasible.

On the initiative of the Soviet Union in the late 1960's the process of limiting the most dangerous means of armed conflict--strategic arms--was begun. The Soviet-American SALT-I understandings were followed, as was already noted, by the signing of the SALT-II Treaty, which in both quantitative and qualitative indicators goes considerably farther than the SALT-I agreements. The treaty is equally necessary to both sides, to all other countries and peoples. The principle of equality and identical security, which adequately reflects the established strategic parity of the USSR and the United States, was its basis. Consistent progress along the path of strategic arms limitation, if it is not undermined by the aggressive circles of imperialism, could bear the great potential of a favorable influence on other negotiations on specific questions of military detente.

At the same time it must be emphasized that progress along the path of strategic arms limitation has come to a standstill through the fault of the United States. For the benefit of competitive considerations the Carter Administration has postponed indefinitely the ratification of the SALT-II Treaty.

The policy of the Soviet Union of curbing the arms race ensues from the thorough analysis of the balance of forces, the political and strategic situation, the trends and prospects of their development and the material and technical factors of the development of means of waging war. It is governed by the need to take into account the interests of both each state individually and the strengthening of peace as a whole.

In implementing the fundamental international political aims of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses, the Soviet state came forth with an all-embracing and specific program to curb, and then to halt the arms race. This program is called upon to promote consistent progress from the gains which it has already been possible to make in various spheres of arms limitation and reduction. It sets as the goal the steady decrease of the levels of military opposition, the physical reduction and stage-by-stage elimination of the means of waging war.

The approaches of the Soviet Union to the problems of military detente--and in this lies their constructive nature--are opening broad prospects for the corresponding negotiations and agreements. Its enterprising program is called upon to ensure the gradual, steady development of the process of working out mutually acceptable measures on arms limitation and reduction. It does not give the USSR and its allies unilateral advantages and is

designed for the achievement of agreements on the basis of strict reciprocity and the absence of a threat to the security of either of the sides.

Being based on the existence of global strategic parity, the Soviet proposals were maintained in the spirit of the readiness for reasonable compromises--the only possible way to reduce the level of military confrontation. Only offsetting concessions are capable of laying the foundation for any effective agreements, which should limit, and then reduce the reserves of stockpiled weapons. The process of curtailing the arms race by common efforts strengthens the forms of the guarantee of international security, which are being developed in our times with allowance made for the interests of all and are not aimed against any side. All peoples, all mankind gain from such an approach.

V

Hardly anyone will deny that the strengthening of universal peace is inseparable from the assurance of security in Europe. The situation on this continent always was a central component of the global situation. Such it is today as well. The main forces of the opposing military-political groups come into direct contact precisely in Europe. Its land is literally oversaturated with weapons, but the continuing arms race is increasing the stockpiling here of lethal weapons to a more and more dangerous level.

Now, as a result of the persistent efforts of all the champions of European peace, security and cooperation, a solid foundation for peaceful interrelations has been laid on the continent. It should especially be emphasized that the Helsinki understandings opened the way to the overcoming of military confrontation. It is quite obvious that the roots, which political detente sank in the European soil, cannot be hardy, if practical steps are not taken in the field of military detente. Moreover, if the arms race is stepped up, it is possible to destroy the positive basis for negotiations on the reduction of the level of military confrontation in Europe.

Thus, the peoples of our continent are faced with a choice: either to follow the path of steadily implementing the principles and theses of the Final Act to their full extent, that is, arms reduction, the strengthening of security and the development of peaceful cooperation, or to let themselves be drawn into the further build-up of arms, the increase of tension and the undermining of detente.

The Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community have advanced a balanced and effective program for ensuring military detente in Europe. It covers all the main aspects of military detente on the continent--the reduction of nuclear missile weapons and conventional arms and measures on the increase of trust.

In striving to avert a new stepping up of the arms race and to decrease the number of nuclear weapons on European territory, as a gesture of good will the Soviet Union announced its willingness to reduce unilaterally as

compared with the achieved level the number of medium-range nuclear weapons, which were deployed in the western areas of the USSR, on the condition that there would be no additional deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe. At the same time the Soviet state proposed to start immediately negotiations on the reduction of these nuclear missile weapons systems, which were deployed in Europe.

The Warsaw Pact countries invited all the states, which had participated in the all-European conference, to refuse to be the first to use both nuclear and conventional arms against each other. In other words, it was a matter of concluding a kind of pact on nonaggression between the socialist and capitalist states of Europe, the United States and Canada.

The Soviet Union with the consent of its Warsaw Pact allies decided in October 1979 to unilaterally withdraw up to 20,000 Soviet troops, 1,000 tanks and other military equipment from the territory of the GDR to the territory of the USSR.

As to the Vienna talks on mutual force and arms reduction in Central Europe, which have been stalled through the fault of the western powers, the USSR and its allies have displayed a willingness to continue the joint search for mutually acceptable solutions on the basis of the agreed on principle of not endangering the security of any of the parties.

Steps on increasing mutual trust could contribute appreciably to military detente in Europe. The Warsaw Pact states proposed to the western countries to come to an understanding on the procedure of notification about military maneuvers; on the limitation of the number of participants in such maneuvers to 40,000-50,000 men; on the timely notification of each other not only about military exercises, but also about the movements of ground forces numbering more than 20,000 men. Other initiatives of the socialist countries, which concern notifications about major air force drills, naval maneuvers and so on, were also supported.

The proposals of the Soviet Union and its allies, which take into account the real situation in Europe, opened the way for the elaboration of concerted and quite practicable specific steps on military detente on the continent. For the first time favorable conditions were created for overcoming the rigid military confrontation in this region of the world.

However, the chance, which was exceptional in its potentials, was missed. Events took a negative turn: the December (1979) session of the NATO Council under U.S. pressure decided to deploy in a number of countries of Western Europe about 600 new American medium-range missiles. It is a question of escalating the arms race so that Europe would obtain unilateral military advantages. In essence a qualitatively new element--nuclear missile weapons capable of destroying targets on the territory of the Soviet Union--is being introduced in the established balance of forces in Europe between the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic alliance. The military-political situation on the continent is changing, moreover, serious destabilizing trends

in the sphere of Soviet-American strategic parity are coming into view on the horizon.

Without responding to the constructive initiatives of the USSR and its allies, the NATO leaders preferred to act not in the spirit of the reduction of the already high levels of military opposition, but to proceed in the directly opposite direction. As to their idea of the "combination" of negotiations with the build-up of the military might of the North Atlantic bloc, the lack of promise and the unrealisticness of this approach are obvious. It is impossible to make progress toward military detente while expanding the arsenals of means for waging war. It is impossible to expect that the attempts of the NATO bloc to create for itself a situation of military superiority will not cause the appropriate countermeasures to strengthen the security of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community.

The Soviet Union has invariably supported negotiations, but they should be honest, equal and based on the observance of the principle of equal security. The USSR has proposed to begin precisely such negotiations on the question of medium-range nuclear weapons. However, no one can expect that our country will accept NATO's conditions, which presume the conducting of negotiation from the "position of strength" of this bloc. Therefore it should be no surprise that the present position of the NATO countries makes negotiations on this problem impossible.

At the same time no complicated international situations will force the Soviet Union to turn from the main path of the consistent, persistent struggle for a lasting peace, detente and the curbing of the arms race. This is the invariable and unshakable foreign policy strategy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. It serves as a might stimulus for uniting the efforts of all those to whom the cause of preventing a world nuclear catastrophe is dear.

Responding to the questions of a PRAVDA correspondent, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized: "We look into the future with optimism. It is well-founded optimism. We understand that the deliberate aggravation of the international situation, which was evoked by American imperialism, is an expression of its displeasure at the consolidation of the positions of socialism, the upsurge of the national liberation movement, the strengthening of the forces supporting detente and peace. We know that the will of the people has cleared through all the obstacles a road for the positive direction in world affairs that is well expressed by the word 'detente.' This policy has deep roots. It is supported by mighty forces. And this policy has every chance to remain the leading trend in the relations between states."

Given the established balance and distribution of forces on the world arena, military detente not only is vitally necessary, but also is feasible. A responsible, constructive approach of all states and the political will to implement specific steps, which are long overdue and lead to the elimination of the material basis of the war threat, are required in order to eliminate the threat of the mass extermination of people and unprecedented

destruction. The reason and conscience of mankind dictate the urgency and imperativeness of such an approach to the solution of the most important of the global problems of mankind--the problem of war and peace.

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INTERNATIONAL

TROFIMENKO ANALYZES CARTER DOCTRINE

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[Article by G. Trofimenko, Chief of the Foreign Policy Department of the Institute of the USA and Canada: "A Policy Without Promise (On the So-Called Carter Doctrine)"]

[Text] I

The history of American capitalism over the past 150 years abounds with various types of foreign policy doctrines, which convey the expansionist pretensions of the United States. Beginning with the Monroe Doctrine (December 1823), which proclaimed the principle "America for Americans" and unilaterally established the special role of the United States in the affairs of the Latin American continent, and ending with the Pacific Ocean Ford Doctrine (December 1975), which emphasized the special role of American strength in the matter of "stabilizing" the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, they were all grounds for expansionism, "claims to the right to interfere," as NEW YORK TIMES commentator G. Sulzberger once stated.

The foreign policy concepts of Washington, which were formulated after World War II, have a pronounced imperialist, aggressive orientation. Their typical trait is anticommunism, anti-Sovietism. The Truman, Dulles, Eisenhower, Johnson and other "doctrines" justified the same American "right to interfere" by the need "to combat communism," which, in essence, meant U.S. aspirations not to allow any changes in the world, which would not conform with its interests.

The laurels of predecessors, evidently, are also not letting the current leaders of the U.S. administration sleep soundly, especially as the presidential election is coming up in late 1980 and the strategy and tactics of the election campaign have already assumed particular importance in the domestic political life of the country. And now on the boundary between 1979 and 1980 the Carter Doctrine comes to light. It was presented in its most complete form in the President's State of the Union Message to Congress in January 1980.

For all the vagueness of the formulas of the new "doctrine" its basic idea is obvious. It is the next attempt to substantiate American hegemonism, a claim for the same "Pax Americana," which U.S. imperialism painted on its banner at the start of the Cold War. In its anti-Soviet orientation and great power arrogance it is not inferior, perhaps, to the well-known masterpieces of Truman and Dulles.

The Carter Doctrine begins with the assertion of unbridled American egocentrism. "Freedom and peace on earth," President J. Carter asserts, "depend on the state of the American union," that is, the United States. It would seem that in stating the issue this way the President should have immediately pondered the problems which influence the "state of the American union," namely: economic stagnation, inflation, unemployment, the catastrophic decline of the exchange rate of the dollar, the onslaught of corruption and crime. However, the President's attention was focused not on the situation in the United States itself, but on the course of events in other countries and regions of the world. And since the development of events there, as a rule, does not suit the White House, the President is advancing the slogan of the "rectification," the adjustment of the world situation by means of military force.

For this purpose a sharp increase of the defense budget and of measures along the lines of NATO is being carried out, special "rapid deployment forces" (numbering up to 100,000 men) are being created for operational interventions in regions of the world very far from the United States. It is no longer individual countries, as in the Truman Doctrine (Greece and Turkey), but entire regions which are being declared areas of the "special interests" of the United States--Europe, the Far East, South, Southwest and Southeast Asia, the Near and Middle East, where the Egyptian-Israeli understanding has been declared a "strategic asset" of Washington, while the Persian Gulf region has been declared "a sphere of the vital interests" of the United States. The presence of its naval forces in the Indian Ocean, which is actually becoming a permanent presence, is increasing. Bases in the region of Northeast Africa and the Near East are being expeditiously sought.

If we take into account the coincidence, which the President emphasizes, of the strategic interests of the United States and China and the need for their implementation on this basis of "complementary actions," it turns out that on earth only the Soviet Union (if we do not count Antarctica) remains outside the sphere of U.S. "special interests." However, all the measures set forth by the President, including the increase of military aid to "friendly regimes," the attempts to organize a new system of pro-American alliances, the increase of the powers of American intelligence agencies and other measures are pointed against the USSR, its vital interests, its security.

The leaders of the United States are attempting to explain the advent of the Carter Doctrine and the turn in their foreign policy as a whole by the "changes and disturbances" in the world, first of all the events in

Afghanistan. Precisely the latter circumstance, if we judge from the speeches of American politicians, as if forced them to look at the world in a new way and to sharply revise their foreign policy line.

But any objective observer cannot but admit that Washington's breaking of economic and other contacts with the USSR was indeed a new and, if you wish, "radical" step in the sphere of foreign policy, which was undertaken after the events in Afghanistan in December 1979. All the other banks and turns in U.S. foreign policy, in its strategy and tactics were, as the facts show, contemplated and carried out much earlier (even such a step as the U.S. decision to offer major military supplies to Pakistan is, in point of fact, a renewal of the "aid" previously given to it). In practice the implementation of the above-indicated intentions began in 1977 when the new administration headed by J. Carter came into office in the United States.

It is for this reason that in order to properly assess the present policy of J. Carter and its potential prospects it is necessary to analyze the conceptual foreign policy aims, with which the leaders of the Democrats came into power, and their practical steps on the international arena during a little more than the past three years.

The seventh postwar U.S. president, J. Carter, who entered the White House on 20 January 1977, was considered the most inexperienced one in the sphere of foreign policy as compared with his predecessors. He has not been a congressman and prior to his election to the presidency was not at all a figure of national stature. Prior to coming to the White House he had been involved with the so-called Trilateral Commission, which was made up to representatives of the political elite and business circles of the United States, Western Europe and Japan. The position of its executive director in the mid-1970's was held by Z. Brzezinski, who recruited J. Carter to work on the commission. This circumstance, apparently, largely explains why J. Carter during the election campaign made Z. Brzezinski his chief foreign policy advisor, and after coming to the White House appointed him to the exceptionally important position of Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Therefore it is not surprising that a strong imprint of his ideas is felt in the current foreign policy actions of the U.S. administration.

It is sufficient to familiarize ourselves with the statements of Z. Brzezinski, beginning with the 1950's, and there will appear before us a plan of the goals which the United States is called upon to achieve on the world arena. The United States, the author asserts, is now operating basically in a world hostile to it, where profound social changes and cataclysms are taking place, which the Soviet Union, if not directly encouraging them, is taking advantage of. If this continues in the future, Z. Brzezinski tries to intimidate the leaders of imperialism, the question may soon arise as to how to preserve "capitalism in one country."¹

1. See FOREIGN POLICY, Summer 1976, p 74.

The battle between socialism and capitalism is developing, according to Brzezinski, in the arena of the developing countries, and the fate of world capitalism depends on its outcome. Therefore, the "industrially developed democracies" need first of all to close ranks and to overcome the existing differences. Then acting as a united front, the countries of the West must solve the problems of their relations with the developing countries, which would mean the consolidation of the bulk of these states in the sphere of influence of capitalism. And only after this should the West or the United States as its leader issue an ultimatum to the Soviet Union: either the USSR joins the "new world community" organized by the United States on the conditions dictated by it, or it is "outside the mainstream (!) of world events." "We challenge the Soviets--either to cooperate with us or to run the risk of being historically uninvolved (!) in the great problems of our times."² And, of course, Washington should direct "the creative process of building the new world system," the formation of the quickly changing world in a manner which would coincide with U.S. "national interests."³

Hence the corresponding division by the Carter Administration of foreign policy priorities: first of all the strengthening of relations with countries "of the same type of civilization"--Western Europe and Japan, the creation of "positions of strength" for the West; at the same time, but with allowance made for a slightly longer period, the organization of a dialog with the developing countries along the "North-South" line for the purpose of working out the conditions for, so to speak, a symbiosis under the new, postcolonial conditions of the states producing equipment with the countries which supply raw materials and cheap manpower; finally, the maintenance in relations with the USSR of "a minimum of detente" until the United States and its partners are able to dictate to the Soviet Union and its friends and allies conditions of international cohabitation, which are advantageous to the West, from the positions of "newly acquired strength."

Given this approach to foreign policy objectives in Washington, of course, they have not brought up, in essence, the problems of further developing cooperation with the USSR. The question has been raised on a different level: to what extent is it possible to freeze or even to agree to the deterioration of relations with the Soviet Union, without taking the matter here as far as a dangerous aggravation, an armed confrontation? As far as can be judged, Z. Brzezinski and his confederates proceeded on the basis of the fact that during the first half of the 1970's Soviet-American relations had been adequately stabilized and therefore it is possible from time to time to put pressure on the USSR by means of various campaigns in the spirit of "psychological warfare" and minor thrusts in certain spheres or others.

It cannot but be noted that in U.S. ruling circles there was a group of politicians, which by no means agreed with the above-described approaches

2. U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 30 May 1977, p 35.

3. See *ibid.*; THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, 31 December 1978, p 9.

to the long-term national interests of the United States. They defended the need for the normalization of relations with the USSR, the preservation and development of detente and the maintenance of mutual understanding with the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately, during the second half of the 1970's the group, which had been infected by the great-power, chauvinistic psychology and the prejudices of the Cold War, anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, began to gain the upper hand. To some extent it succeeded in showing the defeats and failures of U.S. foreign policy, which were the direct result of its unrealistic policy in the 1950's and 1960's, as the results of detente, as a consequence of Washington's recognition of parity with the USSR in strategic arms.

The appeal of the rightwingers, "Give a position of strength!", in the name of the restoration of "the greatness of America" began to resound quite loudly during the 1976 election campaign, when President G. Ford in an attempt to "strike the trend" even refused to use the term "detente." After the election the pressure of the rightwingers became even stronger, since the military-industrial complex became very outspoken and demanded a change-over to a hard line in the area of military and foreign policy. The Carter Administration preferred to yield to the pressure of the rightwingers, although numerous public opinion polls attested to the predilection of broad strata of the American population for the policy of detente and peaceful coexistence.

II

As is known, President J. Carter has repeatedly spoken out in favor of good relations with the Soviet Union. However, the practical actions of his administration have revealed to a greater and greater extent the completely declarative nature of these statements. The real actions of the United States reflected the line of those who interpret detente and neighborly relations with the USSR as a symbol of "foreign policy feebleness" and are striving to ensure U.S. military superiority over the Soviet Union.

By way of proof let us cite a short list (a complete list would take up too much space) of the negative actions of the Carter Government in 1977-1979 in the so-called Soviet direction.

1977

January: during the first days after coming into office the Carter Administration launches a campaign "in defense of human rights" with an obvious emphasis on interference in the domestic affairs of the USSR and other socialist countries;

March: at the height of the indicated campaign Secretary of State C. Vance brings to Moscow new American proposals on strategic arms limitation, which, in essence, break with the Vladivostok Accord and are aimed at the achievement of unilateral advantages by the United States;

the President recommends that Congress expand the activity of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, whose broadcasts are of an obviously subversive nature;

April: the U.S. Coast Guard detains Soviet fishing ships for ostensible violations of fishing regulations within the 200-mile "economic zone" of the United States, which is used for the routine fanning of anti-Sovietism;

the U.S. State Department refuses to issue visas to a Soviet trade union delegation;

May: under American pressure the NATO Council decides on an annual real increase of defense spending by bloc members by 3 percent;

June: the President orders the placement on Minuteman-III missiles of the new MX-12A nuclear warheads with greater accuracy and power, which are designed for delivering a first strike against the USSR;

the President announces the decision to begin the development of an arsenal of strategic cruise missiles;

from press reports it is revealed that the Pentagon is working on a new type of nuclear weapon--the neutron bomb, which it is proposed to place on American delivery systems in Western Europe;

October: the United States signs with the USSR a joint declaration on ways to settle comprehensively the Near East problem, but literally after a few weeks refuses to seek such a settlement and settles on separate deals between Israel and Egypt, that is, on the intensification of the crisis situation in the Near East.

1978

January: the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs expresses satisfaction with the adventurist actions of the Pol Pot clique against Vietnam, regarding them as an "indirect conflict" between the PRC and the USSR;

Washington announces its intention to increase its military contingent in Western Europe;

February: the United States unilaterally breaks off the Soviet-American negotiations on the mutual reduction of military activity in the Indian Ocean and since then has actually refused to renew them, in spite of the efforts of the Soviet side. Moreover, the Pentagon began to increase the military presence in the Indian Ocean, to expand and modernize, in particular, the military base on Diego Garcia;

March: in his speech at Wake Forest University the President sets forth a program, which attests to a shift of the center of gravity from the

previously proclaimed policy of safeguarding national interests by negotiations and the stepping up of detente to a policy of military preparations and the increase of tension;

May: the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs during a visit to the PRC ventures a number of tactless anti-Soviet attacks;

the session of the NATO Council in Washington under U.S. pressure adopts a long-range program, which is unprecedented in scale, of building up the military might of the bloc, including the intensification of the deployment of armed forces "on the forward lines";

July: the President bans the delivery to TASS of a Sperry-Univac computer and announces further restrictions on the sale of technological equipment to the Soviet Union;

the administration cancels the trips of a number of officials to the USSR and suspends other contacts;

October: Congress approves a bill, which concerns the commercial activity of foreign state-owned shipping companies in the United States and contains discriminatory clauses, which are aimed first of all against Soviet shipping enterprises;

the President issues an order to begin the production of the main components of the neutron bomb;

November: not without pressure on the part of the administration the board of directors of the Association of American Publishers refuses to sign a protocol which provides for the expansion of trade in books.

1979

January: the visit to the United States of PRC State Council Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping takes place under slogans of American-Chinese rapprochement on an anti-Soviet platform; the grossly instigatory statements of Deng Xiaoping are not criticized on the part of official representatives of Washington;

March: despite the approaching completion of the SALT-II talks, the administration asks from Congress additional appropriations for the conducting of underground nuclear tests;

May: the U.S. Government requests from Turkey permission for flights of spy planes from its territory;

June: the White House officially announces the decision to begin the development and deployment of the new MX mobile intercontinental ballistic missile;

in spite of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Vienna, the U.S. President appeals for the holding of a routine anti-Soviet "week of enslaved nations";

July: the Senate approves a bill on the control of exports, which contains a number of new discriminatory restrictions on trade with the Soviet Union;

August: American authorities without any grounds delay for several days the takeoff of a Soviet airplane from a New York airport;

September: the next anti-Soviet campaign is launched in the United States in connection with the presence of Soviet troops in Cuba, although, as the Secretary of State admitted, they have been in Cuba for several years;

according to a NEW YORK TIMES report, the President had issued a directive, which in fact calls for breaking off talks with the USSR on disarmament problems, particularly questions of the limitation of military activity in the Indian Ocean and conventional arms deliveries;

November: the administration delays the issuing of licenses for some industrial equipment being delivered by American firms to the Soviet Union;

December: the American media launches a campaign of insinuations about imaginary USSR involvement in the holding of the American hostages in Iran;

the Senate announces postponement of the debates on the ratification of the SALT-II Treaty to 1980;

the session of the NATO Council in Brussels under pressure from Washington decides to produce and deploy in Western Europe 572 land-based cruise missiles and medium-range Pershing-2 ballistic missiles;

the President announces an unprecedented increase in the defense budget for fiscal 1981 and subsequent years, as well as an increase of efforts in the sphere of military construction.

This list could have been expanded considerably. But even it attests in all obviousness to the balanced system of patently hostile actions of the Government of the United States, which is deliberately undermining the process of Soviet-American and international detente.

Of course, it would be incorrect to depict absolutely all American actions with respect to the USSR in 1977-1979 in the worst light. Positive things also occurred. Thus, reciprocal trade increased, scientific and technical cooperation was expanded. Mutual understanding in the approach to some problems of disarmament improved. The positions on questions of strengthening the policy of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons were brought closer, the draft of an international treaty on the banning of radiological weapons was prepared. But the main thing is that the lengthy and difficult negotiations in the key direction of Soviet-American relations--strategic

arms limitation--were successfully concluded with the signing of the SALT-II Treaty in Vienna in June 1979.

At the same time it remains a fact that both the negative practical actions of Washington and its new foreign policy aims led to the more and more distinct movement of the policy of confrontation to the foreground, while the elements of interaction and cooperation were pushed into the background. All this could not but have the most adverse effect both on bilateral contacts and on the overall international climate. In this connection the Soviet leadership repeatedly noted that "some influential circles in the United States are deliberately provoking the Soviet Union, trying to aggravate the situation even more."⁴ In his responses to questions of the American magazine *TIME* in January 1979 General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L. I. Brezhnev noted that "during the past few years in Soviet-American relations, let us say frankly, there have been few comforting moments. I will state quite frankly: often it is even difficult for us to understand the stubborn aspiration of Washington to seek its own advantage to the disadvantage of others. For all this was already tried, and many times, by American politicians during the period of the Cold War."⁵

III

The change in the foreign policy course of Washington by no means promoted an alleviation of the contradictions in the interrelations of the United States with its allies and partners. These relations have been aggravated at present by a large number of things, such as conflicting national interests, the increasing economic importance of the West European "Nine" and Japan against the background of the deterioration situation of the United States, the noncoincidence of the stands on energy problems, currency conflicts, the disapproval by the leaders of Western Europe of the policy of undermining detente and so on. All this made it impossible to cement the "Western unity" under the aegis of the United States. And no matter what statements are made on this account, traditional American hegemonism was one of the serious obstacles in the way of the achievement of such a goal.

In western capitals attention is often directed to a noteworthy fact: all American presidents begin their activity with assurances that henceforth U.S. relations with its allies will be based entirely on the principle of equality, but end with demands for unilateral concessions on the part of its partners. Since the latter today have stood up on their own feet both economically and politically and no longer display such compliance as during the first postwar period, Washington has to resort more and more often to undisguised pressure, relying on its superior military might and such mechanisms, which are based on it, of the interrelations with the countries of

4. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskiy kurs" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 7, Moscow, 1979, p 476.

5. Ibid., pp 586-587.

Western Europe and Japan as NATO in Europe and the American-Japanese "security treaty" in Asia.

By intensifying of late the military confrontation with the USSR, Washington is creating a new threat to the security of Europe and the entire world. By systematically gambling on the "Soviet threat" invented by it, the United States from time to time imposes on its NATO partners long-term programs of the modernization of armed forces and an increase in defense budgets, while in December 1978 it forced them to agree to the deployment in Europe of "Eurostrategic missiles." The deployment of these missiles, which was motivated by considerations of "the strengthening of the security" of Western Europe, in fact is tying the latter more and more to the chariot of the United States and NATO and at the same time is seriously undermining European and international detente and is sharply increasing the military threat in one of the strategically most important regions of the world.

It should be taken into account that Washington obtained the consent of its West European allies to the deployment of "Eurostrategic missiles" in exchange for the promise to put the SALT-II Treaty into effect. Having shelved the ratification of the treaty, the United States thereby also impudently violated its obligation to the countries of Western Europe.

At the same time it should be noted that the U.S. allies, who support Washington's policy of deploying the new missiles in Europe, also bear their share of the responsibility for the deterioration of the situation. At the same time Western Europe is being drawn into a process which threatens it with the most serious danger. Washington in its grand strategy game is "exposing" its allies to a strike. Do the American partners see this? Some do, while others, obviously, do not. We would hope that the West European countries in the near future will approach the situation with better consideration, will devote the proper attention to the question of the real state of the military balance in Europe and will realize, to what negative results the following of the policy of the "hawks" from across the ocean can lead Western Europe.

What has been said to a significant extent also applies to Japan. The public of the country is calling more and more often for the pursuit of a more independent foreign policy. Only in this way can the national interests of Japan be guaranteed in the long run. Any other combinations are capable only of doing it harm.

IV

It is also impossible to recognize as encouraging, again from the standpoint of the Brzezinski-Carter plan, the results of Washington's efforts to solve the problem of interrelations between the developed "North" and the developing "South": the differences between the policy of the western powers and Japan, on the one hand, and the stand of the young liberated countries which support the new international order, on the other, are too great.

Of course, the United States, as well as a number of other western powers have been forced to meet some of the demands of the latter half way. Still, first, not everyone from the western camp itself has consented to agree even to the minimum concessions and, second, what is most important, the concessions being proposed by the United States and its partners to the developing countries are so insignificant that they do not create any basis for the just regulation of interrelations. The only thing, on which it has been possible to reach an agreement during the several years of talks, has been the creation of a general fund for offsetting the prices for raw material goods. But some more time will pass before this fund can begin to operate.

But the most important thing at this stage is the real events in the developing world. Not without reason is Z. Brzezinski sounding the alarm concerning "the mass political and social awakening of man" in this world and foretelling the threat of "global chaos and dissociation."⁶

On the basis of such a "theoretical aim," the creators of the Carter Doctrine in late 1978 "enriched" mankind with the special concept "the crescent of instability." This notorious "crescent" as if extends from Chittagong in Bangladesh through Pakistan, the Persian Gulf and Iran and ends in the southern part of Africa. According to Z. Brzezinski, this "crescent" was formed as a result of "the collapse of the political structure in some regions of the world."⁷ From the standpoint of this criterion, the depictees of the "crescent" could with no less reason assign to it many other zones of the world, for example, several countries of Central and South America.

What is the real reason for such instability? For Z. Brzezinski the answer is clear: the policy and actions of the Soviet Union. Thus, in the world it is as if there are no social problems, no struggle of tens of states for national freedom, independence and progress. It is entirely a matter, he says, of only the "machinations" of the Soviet Union.

But is it really not clear that the main common trait of the processes taking place in the world, including here the regions of such "crescents of instability and tension," is anti-imperialism and anticolonialism? The national liberation movement, which developed after World War II, led to the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism. But the United States by means of the methods of neocolonialism succeeded in creating a pro-American status quo in part of the zone of the developing countries. It is this status quo which is now also collapsing. And it is collapsing not owing to anybody's "intrigues and machinations," "the export of revolution," but owing to the aspiration of nations for genuine independence.

"Anti-Americanism has increased in direct proportion to American influence in the world," L. Morrow writes in TIME. "The majority of the Third World

6. THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, 31 December 1978, pp 9, 11.

7. Ibid., p 26.

is convinced that U.S. foreign policy is striving for the repressive stability of regimes everywhere in the world so that American business could amass the maximum profits.... The United States in the eyes of the Third World is an economic colonizer and a colonizer in the sphere of culture, the heir to everything that was so detestable in the old colonial powers."⁸ The true essence of the conflicts between the United States and the developing world boils down to precisely that.

At the same time it is obvious enough that the so-called crescent of instability is nothing other than the infamous "northern tier" of John Foster Dulles, the region along the southern periphery of the USSR, where anti-Soviet military-political blocs (like SEATO and CENTO) were put together, where the United States set up one military base after another in order to threaten the vitally important centers of the USSR.

And the "instability," with which Brzezinski is now intimidating the American ruling class, appeared first of all in the fact that the United States was forced to withdraw from Indochina, that the blocs put together by Dulles--SEATO and CENTO--collapsed, the previously reliable partners of the United States, through which the link up of NATO with the "northern tier" was achieved--Turkey and Greece, which quit the NATO military organization--began to stagger.

In the White House itself, although it is now fashionable there to explain everything that undermines U.S. hegemonism by the "machinations of Moscow," in fact they are not very mistaken concerning the real essence of the many processes taking place in the world of the developing countries. Not without reason, for example, did the American administration sign with Panama a treaty which in the end turns over the Panama Canal to Panama: Washington agreed to this not owing to its particular generosity, but by understanding what its refusal to solve this question favorably would mean for the prospects of U.S. interrelations with the entire Latin American continent.

Taking into account the deep-seated, fundamental nature of the anticolonial and antineocolonial movement, it is easy to understand that any attempts to "mold" this process so as to reverse it are obviously doomed.

V

The "grand design," which the Carter Administration attempted to implement in 1977-1979, in essence did not give Washington anything on the level of practical policy. The United States did not achieve any "positions of strength" with respect to the Soviet Union. At the same time it was not able to evade the problem of maintaining a certain level of mutual understanding with the USSR and negotiations with it on vital questions, first of all the question of strategic arms limitation. As is admitted in the mentioned presidential message, the United States needs the SALT-II Treaty

8. TIME, 14 January 1980, p 32.

not in the least less than the Soviet Union. In the end it is not what place is assigned to the Soviet Union in one or another of Washington's schemes of foreign policy priorities, but the real content of Soviet-American relations that is decisive.

As to the Soviet Union, in spite of Washington's increase of the tension in these relations in recent years, it has continued to display restraint and composure and has striven for a mutually advantageous solution of problems. The stand of the Soviet Union not only on SALT-II and other disarmament issues, but also on the entire set of negotiations, in which the USSR and the United States have been involved, clearly attested to this. With respect to the problems of Africa, Asia and even the Near East, where in violation of the Soviet-American understanding of 2 October 1977 the United States sanctioned the conclusion of a separate Egyptian-Israeli deal, the Soviet Union invariably demonstrated a constructive approach.

In response to NATO's intention to deploy new types of medium-range missiles in Europe the USSR came forth with far-reaching proposals, which include the unilateral reduction of Soviet troops in the GDR and the willingness to come to an agreement on a mutually acceptable basis on the problems of "Eurostrategic" weapons.

What was the U.S. response to these proposals? The decision to further militarize the United States and the European NATO countries and in the Near East the colossal concentration of interventionist strike forces not far from the borders of the Soviet Union.

The assessment of the position of the USSR, which is contained in a RAND Corporation report, which was prepared for the U.S. Department of Defense and was published in late November 1979, is noteworthy. In this document it was indicated that the Soviet Union, taking into account the steps aimed against it by the powers, which formed a bloc on an anti-Soviet platform, would have the right "to increase the level of tension" with the United States. However, the authors of the report conclude, "Moscow prefers to test a different course of actions, namely to intensify detente with the United States...."⁹

That was how things stood in late 1979, when the White House leaders decided to undertake a new spurt in the build-up of the military power positions of the United States and to turn to the lever of foreign policy pressure, which is customary to them--to use the threat of force.

As the analysis shows, the Carter Doctrine was brought to life by the permanent bent of Washington for the policy "from a position of strength." In an article with the characteristic title "Brawn and Brains" Harvard

9. "Asian Security in the 1980s: Problems and Policies for a Time of Transition," edited by R. H. Solomon, Santa Monica (California), 1979, p 51.

University Professor S. Hoffman writes concerning current U.S. policy: "In the United States there is a weakness for a kind of arrogant international diplomacy, a nostalgia for big sticks and heroic blows, for a world patrolled by American sheriffs and law officers...."¹⁰

Of course, there is no special revelation here: the point is that Washington is taking over many things from the decayed props of the Cold War. Just as at that time, today it places the main emphasis precisely on military power as the main tool of foreign policy. But this policy leads only to a dead end, for the times of power aims and power decisions are completely a thing of the past, no matter how mistaken the imitators of Dulles and Truman are on this account.

As L. I. Brezhnev noted in his speech to the voters on 22 February 1980, "the adventuristic 'doctrines' of the new exponents of 'the policy from a position of strength' are dangerous not for just some individual country or group of countries. They bear a threat to the peace and security of all states and peoples."

The very inadequacy of the current American solutions to the global international situation already gives grounds to assume that Washington by means of its actions, which are inimical to the cause of peace and cooperation, will not be able to raze the edifice of detente, which was erected by the many years of efforts of nations.

Under these conditions the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist community and all peace-loving forces are firmly resolved to defend the cause of peace and security more and more vigorously and persistently. As L. I. Brezhnev recently stressed, "we do not want to give up any of the good things which were achieved in the 1970's on the international arena. Moreover, we consider it necessary to make progress. This pertains to the checking of the arms race, the elimination of the conflict situations in Southeast Asia, the Near and Middle East and the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, as the littoral states propose."¹¹

The CPSU and the Soviet state will henceforth pursue a policy of detente, cooperation and mutual understanding between nations and will fight against the arms race and for disarmament and the prevention of a new world war.

10. FOREIGN POLICY, Winter 1979-1980, p 10.

11. PRAVDA, 5 February 1980.

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INTERNATIONAL

MARXISM-LENINISM AND THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

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[Article by G. Diligenskiy, Chief of the Department of Social and Domestic Political Problems of Developed Capitalist Countries of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations: "The Revolutionary Struggle and the State"]

[Text] The problem of the state is one of the central problems of the revolutionary process in capitalist countries. The experience of the class struggle, which is constantly being enriched, confirms again and again the great vital force of Lenin's doctrine of the state and revolution. In our era the conclusions of V. I. Lenin that the main question of revolution is the question of power, that its transfer into the hands of the revolutionary forces and the creation of a new system system are a necessary and decisive condition for the triumph of the revolution and the irreversibility of its gains, fully retain their importance. Of course, the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries are carrying on a constant search for those means of achieving these goals, which would conform to the present conditions of the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The need for the creative development of revolutionary theory and policy on questions of the state is dictated, as Marxist-Leninists believe, by the profound changes which have occurred in recent decades in the balance and alinement of class forces on the international arena and within the capitalist countries, in the functions and nature of the activity of the bourgeois state. The consolidation of the power and influence of world socialism and the other revolutionary forces of today and the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism are leading to a narrowing of the sociopolitical and ideological bases of the power of capital and to an increase of the aspiration of the masses for radical social changes. The development of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism, the increased interlocking of the power of monopolies with the power of the state and its increased interference in the economic and social life are aggravating the contradictions between the state and the interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation: the working class, the peasantry, the middle classes of the city and

the country, the nonmonopoly bourgeoisie. The analysis of these and a number of other objective processes, as is known, has enabled the Communist Parties to formulate a number of new theses, which have enriched Marxist-Leninist theory and the strategy of the revolutionary struggle in the capitalist countries.

The conclusion about the possibility of changing the nature of the state as a result of the creation under the guidance of the working class of a broad antimonopoly coalition, which is capable of gaining political power and implementing progressive democratic transformations, which will eliminate the absolute power of the monopolies, is among the indisputable achievements of contemporary Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought.

In the opinion of communists, the break of the ties of the state with the monopolistic oligarchy and its democratic reorganization, while not providing all the necessary political conditions for the building of socialism and, what is more, while not signifying a transition to a new social order, at the same time can become an important step in the direction of the preparation of directly socialist transformations. The development of the revolutionary struggle along the lines of the antimonopoly strategy will make it possible to involve in the process of their accomplishment the broadest social and political forces, to use as a tool of these transformations the parliament and other traditional bourgeois democratic institutions and to realize the peaceful means of socialist revolution, which does not involve civil war.

The theses set forth here in the most general form, of course, are constantly being verified, refined and made more specific in light of the new experience of the class struggle. Every Communist Party is developing and enriching them as applied for the conditions and situations, which are taking shape in its country. At the same time many specific questions so far remain vague or, more precisely, unclarified. Creative searching is an indispensable law of the development of revolutionary theory and practice, a guarantee of their efficacy.

The reliance of revolutionary practice on the consistently scientific analysis of reality constitutes the greatest strength of Marxism-Leninism. Such an analysis requires the assessment of new phenomena and processes in inseparable connection with all the objective conditions of the class struggle and with its historical and contemporary experience. The aspiration to find new specific means and forms of revolutionary action is incompatible with the ignorance of this experience, with the opposition of the specific nature of the situation, which has formed in some countries, to the general conditions and laws of the movement toward socialism, which were revealed by Marxism-Leninism and have been demonstrated in practice.

I

Marxists naturally link the question of the means and ways of the struggle for the change in the class essence of the state with the peculiarities of

the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism. In the sphere of the political superstructure of capitalist society they took the form of the changes, which have occurred in recent decades, in the functions and structure of the bourgeois state, its social class base and relations with society. The analysis of these changes leads Marxist thought to the conclusion about the opportunity opening up to the revolutionary forms of gaining political power by peaceful means, which do not involve the armed overthrow of the capitalist political state.

This conclusion, which is also based on a scientific assessment of the balance of class forces on the international arena, is by no means equivalent to the notion of a certain "lack of conflict," "harmoniousness" of the transition from the bourgeois state to state power, which rests on the alliance of democratic and antimonopoly forces and, all the more so, to the socialist state. The broadening of the opportunities of the peaceful means of the revolutionary reorganization of the state does not mean some sort of "ease" of it and a lessening of the tension of the struggle of the opposing class forces for political power. It also does not mean the transformation of the peaceful means into the only possible means: it would be incorrect to completely rule out that version of the development of events, in which the reaction would offer armed resistance to revolutionary transformations and the struggle would therefore assume armed forms.

Some authors, who interpret the peaceful means of development of the revolution in the indicated, in essence, reformist spirit, support their positions with references to the crisis of capitalism, which is leading to a weakening of its political power and a narrowing of its social base. In this connection it is important to indicate that a thoroughly dialectical approach to the understanding of the crisis of capitalism is characteristic of Marxist-Leninist theory. This crisis takes the form, first, of the progressive reduction of the sphere of the imperialist state, the strengthening of the positions of world socialism, the increase of its influence, the transfer to it of the decisive historical initiative in world affairs and the successes of the national liberation movement. All these processes are creating a new international situation and are forming factors which are favorable for the activity of the revolutionary forces in the capitalist world. Second, the exacerbation of the basic contradiction of capitalism as a result of the strengthening of the social nature of productive forces is leading to a profound crisis of the system for regulating economic and social processes, which was created by state-monopoly capitalism. Third, the crisis of capitalism is manifested in the narrowing of the base of its domination within the capitalist countries, the expanded reproduction of the social class contradictions inherent in it, the successes of the workers' and democratic movement in these countries, the increasing domestic political instability, the decay of the values of the bourgeois way of life and the crisis of bourgeois ideology and morals.

The real dialectics of the historical process consists, in particular, in the fact that in each of the mentioned directions of the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism it steps up its resistance to the forces

of social development, which are undermining its domination, and strives to mobilize the old and to find new reserves and methods of strengthening its system. Among them are the arms race, which is aimed at achieving military superiority over the world of socialism, the attempts to revive international tension, ideological sabotage against real socialism for the purpose of undermining the internal solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries and the socialist community and isolating it from the other revolutionary forces, by playing up, in particular, the militaristic-chauvinistic degeneration of the policy and ideology of the Chinese leadership. In its former colonial periphery imperialism is sparing no means and efforts, by using both neocolonial methods and direct military pressure, to strengthen and, where possible, restore its economic and political positions. Within its own countries it is constantly maneuvering, trying to modernize its economic and social strategy, to use the revolution in the productive forces for strengthening the international class solidarity of capital, to improve the system of ideological influence on the conscience of the masses, to halt the development of the antimonopoly movement, while in especially threatening situations it shifts to its direct violent repression.

Marxism-Leninism regards monopoly and especially state-monopoly capitalism as historically the final stage of the development of capitalism, as the immediate eve of socialism. This conclusion, which was brilliantly proven by V. I. Lenin, by no means signifies any kind of automatism, easiness of the transition to socialism. Under the conditions of the industrially developed countries of the West, where capitalism has the mightiest reserves, any underestimation of the difficulties of the struggle against it is especially dangerous. More than 50 years ago Lenin warned that it would be more difficult to start revolutionary transformations here than in Russia. As the facts attest, this conclusion completely retains its importance under present conditions.

It is confirmed, in particular, by the major sociopolitical upheavals which capitalism experienced during the 1960's and 1970's. Thus, for example, during the events of May 1968 in France there were many people who assumed that the bourgeois state was paralyzed, that power in the country "was lying in the road." In reality the experience of these events attests not only to the weakening of the bases of monopoly domination and the strength of the mass opposition to it, but also to the fact that the bourgeois state has a very extensive set of means to defend the existing orders. To speak about the weakening of all the bases of the bourgeois state, without taking into account the difficulties of the struggle against it and without analyzing the problems connected with it, which face the revolutionary forces, means, in point of fact, to take the stand of a one-sided, simplified approach to the question of the means of revolution.

Or take the problem of the struggle against the international counterrevolution, the most difficult problem for the revolutionary movement of the capitalist countries. It is well known that imperialism and its military-political organizations, without consideration for any standards of international law and the national sovereignty of the corresponding countries,

react in an openly aggressive manner even to the slightest "danger" of the participation of revolutionary forces and communists in governmental power. Obviously, the clear realization of the threat of the export of counter-revolution and the utmost mobilization of the masses to struggle against it are a necessary condition for consolidating the revolutionary gains.

Capitalism is a incurably ill society. But this does not mean that all its resources have been completely exhausted, while it is itself unable to place new barriers and obstacles in the way of the revolutionary movement. It would be a serious mistake to count to the automatic collapse of capitalism. Of course, everything said above must be taken into account when examining such general theoretical problems of the crisis of capitalism as the balance of forces between state-monopoly capitalism and socialism, the influence of the crisis of capitalism on the system of ideological influence and the agencies of coercion of the bourgeois state.

Life convincingly shows that the objective development of capitalism leads to the creation of the conditions for the transition to a new, higher, fundamentally different social order. Among these conditions the development of the system of state-monopoly capitalism, of which V. I. Lenin gave a thorough analysis for the first time, unquestionably plays an essential role.

First, he clearly specified what the essence of state-monopoly capitalism is. It is the domination of the monopolies and the mechanism of the centralized regulation of economic and social life, which is formed on its basis and the development of which in recent decades has gone through a number of stages and encompassed new spheres. Second, V. I. Lenin reveals the main conditions for the transformation of the prerequisites of socialism, which were created by state-monopoly capitalism, into a tool of socialist transformations: the working class should master this mechanism. Long before our times he indicated that in solving such an important problem the revolutionary forces can rely on the process of the internal social differentiation in the state machinery and on the proletarianization of civil servants. In other words, in Lenin's analysis the problem of utilizing the prerequisites of socialism, which have been created by state-monopoly capitalism, is fundamentally linked with the successful struggle of the working class and its allies for power. Only then can these prerequisites act as a really effective (and not only potential) factor of the destruction of capitalism and the genesis of the new social order.

The validity of Lenin's theses on state-monopoly capitalism and the ways of transforming it into socialism is completely born out by the experience of recent decades. The rejection of revolutionary methods of such a transformation inevitably leads to the preservation and strengthening of the bases of state-monopoly capitalism. The policy of the social-democratic parties, whose leaders claimed that the development of state socio-economic regulation makes it possible to "overcome" capitalism, boiled down precisely to this. In reality, while in power, these parties were not able to implement qualitative transformations of the socio-economic structures, to cross the

"boundary" which separates state-monopoly capitalism from socialism. The solution of this problem is possible only on the basis of revolutionary theory and practice, which have nothing in common with the advocacy of the "gradual development" of socialism into capitalism.

II

As Marxist-Leninists believe, the orientation toward primarily political, peaceful methods of gaining power presumes the formation of broad anti-monopoly alliances of various social and political forces and the transfer to them of the ruling positions in parliament. Such a means of revolution conforms most of all to the social, sociopsychological and political situation, which has formed in a number of capitalist countries, to their national traditions and the sentiments of the bulk of the workers.

A specific difficulty, which inevitably arises in this direction, is the political backing of the revolutionary transformations, their consolidation under the conditions, when the revolutionary forces have not yet fully gained state power. The winning of a majority in parliament (or, as was the case in Chile, the upper levels of the executive bodies of the government) is only the first step in solving the main question of revolution--the question of power. The democratic government, which relies on this majority, at first will be forced to implement progressive transformations through the state machinery, the command positions of which are held by the senior civil servantry, which is linked with monopoly capital and the right-wing bourgeois forces. It is faced with an analogous problem in its relations with the repressive coercive bodies of the state, above all the police and the military brass. It must not be forgotten that in capitalist countries a considerable portion, or else the bulk of the generals and senior officers and the counterintelligence agencies are linked closely not only with the most reactionary circles of their countries, but in a number of instances--through NATO and similar organizations--with the forces of the international imperialist reaction. In resisting progressive transformations, local and international monopoly capital will unquestionably attempt in every possible way to use its contacts in the state machinery for the organization of economic and political sabotage and counterrevolutionary attacks, the undermining of the influence of the workers' and democratic parties among the masses and the division of the antimonopoly alliance.

The described situation is neither the fruit of idle fantasy nor a tribute to dogmatic doctrinairism. The experience of the Chilean and Portuguese revolutions and the positions taken by the American administration and NATO in connection with the prospect of the participation of communists in the governments of some West European countries clearly attest to its reality under present conditions. A multitude of well-known cases attest that the reaction is prepared to use against the workers and democratic forces, which are progressing toward government power, very diverse, including grossly violent, terrorist methods. It would be unpardonable complacency for revolutionaries not to see behind all the advantages of the peaceful

means also the dangers connected with it and not to seek effective means to overcome them and to create lasting revolutionary power.

Of course, all this is attracting the closest attention of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries, especially those of them, before which the question of democratic and socialist transformations is appearing on the practical level. Communists justly emphasize the possibility of attracting to the side of the antimonopoly forces some part or another of the state machinery, the clergy, workers of educational bodies and the media and, finally, servicemen, policemen and so on. Here the real problem, which is arising before the revolutionary working class, is, first of all, to what extent can the rate and scope of such "attraction" ensure the reorientation of the state machinery toward the solution of the problems of the revolution. Second, taking into account the unquestionable fact of a link of its various levels with monopoly, the reactionary nature of the world outlook of many civil servants, their anticommunism and so on, it is possible to clearly realize what precisely will be the force, which is capable of severing such ties and "rearranging" the entire pattern of the consciousness and sociopolitical behavior, for example, of a senior administrative official, a policeman or an army officer.

The question of the role of the army and other repressive bodies of the bourgeois state assumes particular importance within the framework of the strategy of the peaceful approach to socialism. For under the conditions of the sharp confrontation of opposing class forces such an approach will hardly be possible, if the progressive camp does not provide itself with adequately broad support or if only the well-disposed neutrality of the mass of soldiers and the officer corps.

The appearance of a number of intermediate stages in the course of socialist transformations does not at all signify the absolute gradualness, some smoothness, uniformity of the process of transforming the state. The very first steps toward the winning of power by the working class and its allies will inevitably evoke a sharp clash of the opposing class forces, the outcome of which might be either a new qualitative, "spasmodic" extension of the positions of revolutionary power, or its retreat and the loss of the gains which were made. The commenced revolution cannot wait until new revolutionary forces gradually mature in the midst of the old state machinery. Such a wait would mean inevitable defeat: for the class enemy is least inclined to passive waiting.

As to the second question, as all the available experience shows, it is possible to "convince" the privileged strata of the need for cooperation with the revolutionary camp, or if only for neutrality toward it, only by relying on the real force of the revolutionary movement, and that force which is capable not only of promising, but also of demonstrating in practice its ability to control society. It should have effective levers of power, in other words, it should be an organized state force.

The working class needs its own state organization also for solving a broader problem--to implement the outlined program and to suppress the resistance of the counterrevolution. It is hardly possible to ensure its suppression, if the revolution has nothing in the government except a few hundred deputies, 10 to 15 ministers and the hope for the "gradual transformation" of the old repressive coercive machinery, if it does not have its own organized force, which is capable of effectively withstanding the violent actions of the counterrevolution. To deny this need means to underestimate the real difficulties, the diversity and keenness of the revolutionary struggle and to limit its forms to the preset framework of gradual, peaceful changes. Such an approach, of course, differs fundamentally from the Marxist-Leninist aim at the maximum utilization of the potentials of the peaceful development of the revolution.

The revolution, V. I. Lenin taught, cannot do without the replacement of the old state machinery, which serves monopoly capital, with a new, revolutionary machinery. The correctness of this conclusion is confirmed by the experience of the revolutions which have already occurred, both successful and unsuccessful, which were abandoned by the enemy half way. And this replacement cannot be postponed until the "Greek calends." It becomes necessary at the first stages of the revolutionary transformations, if, of course, it is a question of a real revolution, and not simply of a change in the party composition of parliament and the government, which does not affect the foundations of the existing order.

The revolutionary state should have sufficient strength to perform simultaneously its two main functions. The first is the suppression of the resistance of the counterrevolution, the defense of the revolution against internal and external enemies, the second is the management of the building of socialism. The extent to which the performance of the former is connected with coercion and violence depends on the specific circumstances of the class struggle and on the degree of resistance of the counterrevolution. But in any event the revolutionary state should be capable of using force against force--such an ability is the best guarantee against the use of violence on the part of the counterrevolution. Of course, the constructive, transforming function of the revolutionary state is the leading function, and its share in state activity increases more and more as revolutionary power is consolidated.

When attempts are made to revise Lenin's ideas on the problems of the revolutionary state, the fundamental link of these ideas with the specific conditions of the Russian revolution and their inapplicability to the conditions of the revolutionary process in modern countries of mature capitalism are frequently cited. In fact, such arguments are based on the replacement of a general theoretical principle with the notion of specific forms of the breakdown of the old state machinery, which were used by the Great October Socialist Revolution. Such a substitution is scientifically incorrect: the breakdown of the bourgeois state machine by no means should necessarily signify, as was the case in Russia, the elimination of the old ministries,

the disbandment of the army and the police and so on. These steps were brought about by the specific conditions of the Russian revolution (in particular, the counterrevolutionary positions of the old civil servantry and the majority of officers, the actual disintegration of the army and so on). In a different situation the replacement of the old state machinery with a new one might take on different, less harsh forms. V. I. Lenin spoke of this repeatedly.

It is important to see the fundamental essence of the concept "the breakdown of the state machine." It consists first of all in the resolute replacement of those levels of the state machinery, which are integrally connected with the defense of the class interests of the bourgeoisie, by new ones and in the abrogation of those principles of their activity, which serve such interests. V. I. Lenin persistently emphasized this idea, indicating that there is no need to break down those levels of the state machinery, which are capable of performing not only narrow class, but also broad social functions (for example, the machinery of economic regulation, which was set up by state-monopoly capitalism). "This machinery," he wrote, "should not and must not be shattered. It must be wrested from obedience to the capitalists, the capitalists with their strings of influence must be clipped off, cut off, chopped off from it...."¹

The question of a "breakdown" in its practical interpretation is also a question of specific people, who perform responsible functions in the state machinery. No revolutionary state can solve its problems, if it does not replace the officials, policemen, servicemen and workers of security agencies, who sabotage its policy, with people who are linked socially, politically and ideologically with the revolutionary forces. Such a replacement can assume various scales depending on the specific circumstances, but in any case the objective need for a radical change in the state machine is embodied in it.

Within the revolutionary strategy being worked out by the Communist Parties of capitalist countries, the problem of creating a new state machinery is being solved under the conditions of the preservation of some institutions inherited from the bourgeois state. The victory of leftist forces in an election and their formation of a government are a necessary, but far from sufficient condition for a change in the class content of these institutions, their transformation into organs of the new power. The communists of a number of countries indicate in this connection that the activity of the revolutionary forces in the parliament and the government should rely on a broad mass movement, which acts as the decisive force of progressive transformations.

It is obvious that its real influence on the activity of the state can be guaranteed only if it is capable of directly interfering in this activity, of assuming the performance of certain state functions or others. Hence

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 34, p 307.

the need for special bodies, which are closely connected with the revolutionary masses, are unique "centers of power" of the working class and its allies and realize the democratic participation of the masses in the control of society. In Russia, as is known, the soviets became the bodies of revolutionary power. In countries, in which the revolution will be accomplished under different historical and sociopolitical conditions, the forms of revolutionary power may, of course, be different.

The Chilean revolution advanced such a specific form of the organization of the masses as a network of committees of popular unity, and the cessation of the activity of these bodies was, in the opinion of Chilean communists, one of the causes of the weakness of popular power in face of the counterrevolutionary coup. This example once again confirms the need for the revolutionary forces to rely on a system of mass organizations. In those instances, when the working class and its allies do not yet have all the decisive levers of state power in their hands, only they are capable of acting as an effective counterbalance to the counterrevolution. The organizations of this type will be at the same time the centers of gravity for all those strata and groups within the state machinery, which can be pulled out from under the influence of the old ruling classes, thereby promoting the process of the revolutionary transformation of the state.

The specific forms of the change in the class content of state power in the developed capitalist countries will, of course, be elaborated by the practice of the class struggle and by the creative activity of the Communist Parties, the workers' and democratic movement of the corresponding countries. In this case it is a question of the most general principles of the theory and strategy of the struggle for socialism: all the conditions of modern capitalism confirm the importance of these principles, which have been substantiated by Marxism-Leninism and are a scientific generalization of the experience and objective laws of the revolutionary struggle.

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the state is an integral component of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. The seizure of state power for the working class is not an end in itself, it is a necessary condition of the socialist reorganization of society. Of course, the main question, to which any solution proposed by the communists to the problem of the state responds, is the question of its conformity to the task of building socialism.

As is indicated in the program documents of the Communist Parties of a number of capitalist countries, this task will be solved under the conditions of a relatively long "coexistence" of the public and private sectors of the economy, which covers the entire period of the transition from capitalist to socialism, with a steady increase of the role of the former. At the same time the majority of parties consider necessary at the initial stages of the antimonopoly transformations the nationalization of banks and key sectors of industry and the gradual democratization of the management of the nationalized sector. As is known, historically the first form of such "coexistence"

was NEP, it has occurred in other forms in the people's democracies. In the countries of developed state-monopoly capitalism its practical embodiment, in all probability, will in many ways be different than, for example, in the Soviet Union, since the pace of the socialist transformations in these countries may turn out to be different. That is also understandable: for the building of socialism will occur here on the basis of much more developed productive forces and already established mechanisms of the management of the economy, under different international conditions; they will not be faced with the problem of ensuring an extremely rapid rate of industrialization and of creating a powerful military-economic potential. The peculiarities of the formation of the socialist base in these countries may also affect their political superstructure during the transitional period, including the party political structure of society.

It is obvious, at the same time, that the coexistence within the same society of opposing socio-economic systems presumes a struggle between them, a struggle of the opposing classes, which may lead either to the restoration (perhaps on a reformed basis) of the state-monopoly structures or to the development of socialism. The transitional period is called transitional because society during this time interval (regardless of its length) has its own dynamics--its development is accomplished by the resolution of the contradictions inherent in it in the direction of the constant strengthening and extension of the positions of socialism.

Hence it is clear, of what enormous importance the political conditions, which ensure such a direction of development, and the role in it of the state system of the transitional period are.

The retention alone in the process of building socialism of the democratic institutions, rights and freedoms, which were established or were won by the workers under the capitalist system, no matter how important it is in itself, does not yet provide such conditions: for these institutions and rights in themselves do not guarantee the socialist nature of the state leadership of society and do not create any reliable obstacles to the danger of the restoration of capitalism. It is impossible to prevent it by limiting the activity of the revolutionary forces in the sphere of the political superstructure to the simple transplanting of bourgeois democratic institutions and the principles of "pluralistic" political organization, which are ostensibly of a "class-transcending" nature, to the social fabrics of the society which is building socialism.

In conformity with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the transition to socialism the decisive role in the socialist transformation belongs to the active purposeful activity of the state, the state power of the working class, which exercises a new, socialist democracy. In the documents of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries and in the theoretical works of communists the question of the development of socialist democracy and of its specific forms is naturally linked with the question of the composition and forms of the alliances of the revolutionary working class.

The objective shifts in the social structure and the distribution of social forces in the countries of developed capitalism, as is known, have enabled the Marxist-Leninists to formulate the conclusion about the significant broadening of the composition of the alliances of the working class in the struggle for democracy and socialism as compared with the preceding phases of the revolutionary process. Along with the peasantry (whose proportion in the majority of these countries has decreased significantly) the growing strata of workers of mental labor: employees and the working intelligentsia, are becoming the allies of the revolutionary working class. The possibility and need for the involvement of these strata in the matter of building socialism were substantiated by V. I. Lenin in his day. Under present conditions the importance of their alliance with the working class in the strategy of the socialist revolution has increased even more. At the same time the intelligentsia and employees remain as a whole a socially differentiated social class, which in large part is connected with the ruling class. Therefore, their participation in the process of socialist transformations depends on the extent to which the revolutionary working class can bring them over to its position and can undermine the influence which the bourgeoisie has on them. In other words, Lenin's idea of the leading role of the working class in the alliances made by them and in the state management of the socialist transformations of the state retains all its importance.

The broadening of the alliances of the revolutionary working class and the involvement in them of the bulk of the workers--both the nonproletarian and semiproletarian strata and the groups of the proletariat itself, which are less developed with respect to class--are by no means a spontaneous process. The central and most complicated problem, which the revolutionary forces have to solve in the matter of broadening and consolidating their alliances, is the effective struggle against bourgeois ideology, which has and will have for a long time to come a strong influence on the broadest masses of workers, whose consciousness was formed under the conditions of capitalism. Lenin's classical work "Chto delat'?" [*What Is to Be Done?*] contains a comprehensive analysis of bourgeois ideology, the strength of the means of its propagation, both its purposeful and "spontaneous" imposition on the masses. From all this V. I. Lenin drew the conclusion of the need for the unwavering, irreconcilable struggle of socialist ideology against bourgeois ideology.

All the revolutionary theoreticians, who were working out the problem of the class alliances of the proletariat, completely shared this conclusion. It was developed especially thoroughly and diversely in the works of A. Gramsci. Frequently citing V. I. Lenin directly, Gramsci showed convincingly what great and complicated work on self-education and the affirmation of their own spiritual hegemony and on the winning of their allies from the bourgeoisie the proletariat of the developed capitalist countries has to do.

Some contemporary authors, citing Gramsci, assert that the broadening of the alliances of the working class as if requires the repudiation of the proletarian-class nature of socialist ideology and the "inclusion" in it of

ideas going back to other social sources. In reality such views have nothing in common with Gramsci's idea of the political and cultural hegemony of the proletariat in the historical bloc of the forces struggling against capitalism. In essence, they replace this idea with the thesis of some "aggregate" ideology of heterogeneous groups and strata, which oppose the power of the monopolies.

Here it is necessary to recall some truths, which are well known to any Marxist and the importance of which not only has not been diminished, but has been confirmed even more convincingly by the historical development of recent decades. Scientific socialism was formed as the ideology of the working class and remains such, for owing to its objective position in production and society the proletariat is the only class, which has been consistently interested in the overthrow of capitalism and in socialist reorganization and is capable of accomplishing it. The broadening of the social base of the revolutionary struggle enhanced even more this leading role of the working class in progressive social development. For the proletarianization of the petty bourgeois and other intermediate strata, which leads to one extent or another to the convergence of their interests, sentiments and sociopolitical behavior with those of the proletariat, forms the objective basis of this process. On the other hand, under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution and other major social shifts the role of the working class in production is increasing, its social and intellectual needs and its capacity for scientifically sound, rational social action and for the appreciation of scientific socialism are growing.

To demand under these conditions the "watering down" of the class nature of socialist ideology means, in reality, to go against the leading trend of social development, not to expedite, but, on the contrary, to impede the revolutionary process. The proletarianization of the middle classes of capitalist society, including the hired intelligentsia, people of the "free professions," all the more so the petty bourgeoisie, is a process which in most cases is far from being completed. Their psychological and ideological "proletarianization" comes up against even greater obstacles and difficulties. The protest against the state-monopoly system is combined in their consciousness with the aspiration to preserve the privileges being lost, with the very strong influence of bourgeois individualism. Such contradictions are vividly expressed in the ideological concepts which were generated by the new situation in which these strata found themselves: the understanding of the need for radical social changes is oddly interwoven among them with irrational rebelliousness, elitist technocracy and the nonacceptance of consistently socialist ideals. What might the "integration" with socialist ideology of all these products of the present ideological crisis of capitalism lead to? Only to its loss of its own character and of the distinct, scientifically substantiated prospect of socialist transformations.

The aspiration of communists for the utmost broadening of the alliances of the working class with the mass nonproletarian and semiproletarian strata and for the maximum consideration of their specific interests has nothing in common with ideological "omnivorousness" and with the willingness to

adopt any fashionable slogan or idea, which pretends to "update" socialism. Communists understand that, in order to introduce socialist consciousness step by step among the masses of the working class and its allies, it is necessary to have a sufficiently stable socialist ideology which at the same time is being constantly developed and enriched by new experience. Of course, such an ideology can be neither a compendium of "frozen" orders nor a set of competitive slogans which are changed at every new turn of events.

The great strength of socialist ideology consists in its scientific nature. The very pressing question of the alliance of communists with certain democratic religious trends or others is connected with this. It is true, of course, that the difficult historical path covered by Christianity has also left in it those imprints which under the conditions of the present radicalization of the broad strata of believers can "operate" as a factor of their familiarization with socialist ideas. Following the general principles of their policy of alliances, communists, just as during the times of K. Marx and V. I. Lenin, reject any sectarianism in the question of the attitude toward religion and insist on the respect of the feelings of believers. Incidentally, the broad masses of believers, including Catholics, are already taking an active part in the building of socialism in the countries of real socialism. In a number of capitalist states the stimulation of the ideas of democratic Christianity is becoming for certain social groups a unique way of coming over to the positions of the class struggle, which reflects the structural peculiarities of their consciousness.

Does all this mean that Marxist criticism of the alienating essence of religion under present conditions is outmoded, that a kind of organic symbiosis of religious ideology and the theory of scientific socialism is possible and desirable? In essence, such an approach would mean that, having entered into alliances, the communists should reject their own ideological positions and scientifically substantiated policy. However, a political alliance does not at all presume any ideological integration whatsoever. Religion even in its most "leftist," democratic manifestations orders its followers to be guided not by the scientific analysis of reality, but by the requirements of its own irrational standards. Therefore, even when "purged" as much as possible of the traditional mythology and mysticism, it continues to estrange man from his own essence of a social being who perceives and independently transforms the world. Even the religious standards, which are most attractive on the moral and ethical level, can at best nurture generous and impartial feelings, but they are not able to replace scientific reason. But without the guidance of such reason the most difficult matter of the struggle for socialism, which requires the creative analysis of constantly changing situations and problems, is obviously doomed to defeat.

The "integration" of the scientific ideology of the working class with non-proletarian and nonscientific doctrines cannot be the ideological bases of the activity of a state which is solving the problem of building socialism. It can be solved only by a state which is guided by a consistently class and consistently scientific socialist ideology.

In this article we have not, of course, made it our goal to examine all the aspects of the problems of the state, which are connected with present conditions and problems of the revolutionary struggle in the capitalist countries. Only a few of these problems, which are being discussed most animatedly in Marxist literature and are arousing the greatest interest in the ranks of the communist movement, were touched upon in it. It is obvious that their sound, convincing solution is possible only along the lines of the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory of state and revolution. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has done important work in this direction. Back in 1956 at its 20th congress the CPSU formulated for the first time on a general theoretical level conclusions about the fundamentally new means and methods of the socialist revolution in capitalist countries, about the increasing diversity of these means, including the possibility of a peaceful path of the transition to socialism, which does not involve armed violence and civil war, about the use of the parliament and other bourgeois democratic institutions as organs of revolutionary power. As Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee B. N. Ponomarev noted when speaking about the new theses which have enriched the theory and practice of the communist movement during the postwar period, "the CPSU was among the first to advance these ideas. It was the first to put them up for discussion by the entire world communist movement, after which they were further developed and became the property of the social thought and social practice of the present."²

The creative policy of the CPSU on questions of the revolutionary struggle for socialism underwent further development in its subsequent theoretical activity: in the program documents of our party, in the decisions of its congresses, in the positions defended by it at international conferences of Communist and workers' parties. Thus, the most important principles about the broadening of the composition of the allies of the working class and the antimonopoly coalition, the alinement of the struggle for democracy and socialism under the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism, the possibility of the cooperation of communists, socialists and other democratic parties in the building of a socialist society, the fundamental features of this process in industrially developed states as compared with Russia and other countries, in which the revolution was begun under the conditions of a moderate level of industrial development, were formulated in the reports and speeches of L. I. Brezhnev and in many party documents.

A large number of new theoretical theses on problems of the state have been elaborated by the Communist Parties of capitalist countries, as well as during the collective creative activity of the entire communist movement. It is important to recall all this, since there are people who are attempting to oppose creative Marxism to some kind of "dogmatic trend," which has been invented by them and is ostensibly proclaimed by our party. In reality a general unity of views on the main problems of the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, which is set down in the documents of international

2. B. N. Ponomarev, "Zhivoye i deystvennoye ucheniye marksizma-leninizma" [The Vital and Effective Teachings of Marxism-Leninism], Moscow, 1978, p 71.

conferences of Communist and workers' parties, including the 1976 Berlin Conference, exists in the international communist movement.

The creative approach to theory has nothing in common with the "abrogation" of the cardinal principles of scientific socialism with each change of concrete historical situations. The unity and integrity of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook are based on the scientific notions, which are inherent in it, about the laws of social development. Of course, the understanding of these laws is constantly being enriched and extended. But the creative nature of Marxism-Leninism is incompatible with the repudiation of general historical laws. The refusal to take them into account when analyzing real conditions inevitably leads to relativism, which has nothing in common with Marxism. When assessing the changes being made in revolutionary theory, it is important to determine first of all, what is the specific content, the true significance of these changes, are they substantiated by a serious scientific analysis of objective reality, do they serve the successful solution of revolutionary problems and the struggle for socialism.

The greatness of Lenin's creative contribution to Marxist theory consists in the fact that he created the ideological and theoretical prerequisites for the first victorious socialist revolution in history, the bursting of the chain of world imperialist domination and a fundamentally new stage in the development of the world revolutionary process. While advancing new ideas in place of some theses previously formulated by Marxist thought, V. I. Lenin remained a Marxist, the most prominent continuer of the cause of the founders of revolutionary theory. All the historical experience of the 20th century attests that genuine and irreversible progress of the cause of the socialist revolution is possible in our age only on the basis of the theoretical, ideological and political principles elaborated by Leninism.

Loyalty to Leninism not only does not deny, but, on the contrary, presumes a creative search for new means and forms of the revolutionary struggle, the building and development of socialism, which conform to the changing objective conditions. But this search can lead to significant results only if it is really a search for something new, and not movement backwards, a repetition of the reformist experiment of the transformation of capitalism. The new, complicated problems, which are now facing the Communist Parties of industrially developed countries, can be solved only by relying on all the very rich experience of the struggle of the working class and on the fundamental conclusions of Marxist-Leninist theory, which generalize it.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOGOMOLOV ON FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF EAST-WEST TRADE

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 3, Mar 80 signed to press 5 Mar 80 pp 41-51

/Article by O. Bogomolov, Director of the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System: "Economic Ties Between Socialist and Capitalist Countries"

/Text The business cooperation of states, including those belonging to different social systems, is an objective law of our age. The needs of economic life predetermine the more and more intensive division of labor on a world scale. The scientific and technical revolution has added to the traditional factors of this division of labor new ones, which resulted from the high concentration and technical equipment of modern production. The list of industrial products and their technical complexity, especially in machine building, electronics and the chemical industry, are so great that even the largest and most developed states are not able to effectively produce all these products.

Cooperation between the countries of the two opposing systems gives a mutual advantage. At the same time it serves international detente, is conducive to the implementation of the important principles of the Final Act of the all-European conference in Helsinki and is helping to create the foundation of lasting peace. However, precisely this does not suit the reactionary militaristic circles, which are striving to bury detente and revive the Cold War.

The history of the interrelations of socialist and capitalist countries attests to the numerous attempts of the imperialist forces by means of a trade blockade or embargo, various discriminatory measures and restrictions to put pressure on the socialist states and to compel them to make political concessions. Now the U.S. administration has embarked on such a reckless course, trying to involve in the adventure undertaken by it its main trade rivals--the EEC countries and Japan. As in the past, this next American adventure, no doubt, will end in failure. The policy of detente, which includes the normalization and extension of business contacts, has deep roots, especially in Europe. As General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in his responses to the questions of a PRAVDA correspondent, this policy "is supported by mighty forces and this policy has every chance to remain the leading trend in the relations between states."

I

The world economy as an expression of the link of the economic life of the countries belonging to the different social systems and of their cooperation is a necessary factor of social development at the present stage of scientific and technical progress and international contact. Along with national economic complexes the world economy is one of the present realities. When evaluating the potentials and prospects of the socialist and capitalist states it is impossible not to take its existence into account. The world economy acts as a dialectical unity of opposites, international economic relations of various social types are interwoven in it.

For all the complexity and social heterogeneity the world economy is a developing organism. The difference of the socio-economic systems does not prevent the solution of a number of common problems and first of all the expansion of mutually advantageous trade and cooperation. The forward movement in this direction is one of the conditions of the transition to a new type of international economic relations, which the forces of peace, democracy and socialism support.

The relations between states with different social systems are determined by the objective process of the internationalization of economic life, which requires effective cooperation. The development of cooperation is closely connected with detente, the curtailment and curbing of the arms race. On the one hand, detente is necessary for stimulating ties between East and West, on the other, economic ties lead to the strengthening of the peaceful coexistence of states, form the basis of the normalization of interstate political relations and promote the further relaxation of tension.

Of course, cooperation with the West is not able to give the socialist countries the advantages which socialist economic integration and comradely mutual assistance provide. However, some potentials are included in it. The mutual interests of the parties in obtaining advantages from the division of labor and cooperation serves as the basis of its expansion.

As is known, the socialist countries are acquiring in the West machinery and equipment, patents and licenses for those sectors of industry, the accelerated development of which conforms to their needs, for example, the chemical and petrochemical industries, some sectors of machine building, particularly the production of means of transportation, the pulp and paper, light and food industries. For the socialist countries scientific, technical and industrial cooperation with capitalist states not only affords additional opportunities to modernized the mentioned sectors, but also serves as a means of expanding exports. The socialist states have a great scientific

and technical potential and are able to offer their capitalist partners significant scientific results and technical decisions.

The socialist countries are realizing with a profit the advantages of their highly concentrated and technically advanced extractive industry (for example, the petroleum, gas and manganese industries in the USSR, the coal, sulfur and copper industries in Poland), as well as their large-scale agricultural production (in Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania). They are spending the currency received from the export of raw materials and agricultural products in part on the purchase of consumer goods.

For the capitalist states the development of relations with the socialist countries is an important factor of the expansion of their exports. It promotes access to new markets, the more complete and efficient loading of production capacities, increases employment at enterprises of capitalist firms. Many bourgeois specialists note the reliability and stability of trade and especially industrial ties with the socialist countries and their stabilizing influence under the conditions of the difficult situations on the capitalist market.

Western states are receiving considerable advantages from purchases of a number of types of fuel, raw materials and materials, as well as agricultural products from European socialist countries. And it is a matter not only of the geographical proximity of the sources of supply, which provides a saving on transportation costs, but also of the opportunity to diversify, that is, to vary, these sources and to avoid dependence on one or two supplier countries.

The capitalist business world is displaying increasing interest in the more extensive use of the achievements of the socialist countries in the leading fields of science and technology. This pertains first of all to ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, electrical machine building and the construction of superpower electric power transmission lines, instrument making and electronics, some sectors of machine tool building and the mining of minerals. At the same time the West can play a significant role in transferring to the West some types of new technology and in the joint development of certain designs or others.

In their relations with industrially developed bourgeois states the socialist countries adhere to the principles substantiated by V. I. Lenin: the inadmissibility of political pressure on the part of the imperialist powers and the imposition on them of crippling economic terms.¹ The socialist countries agree to the consolidation of economic ties with the capitalist states to the extent to which this does not endanger their technical and economic independence and does not make them strategically vulnerable.

1. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 44, pp 385-386.

The problem of technical and economic independence became especially acute during the industrialization of the USSR. Now, when a socialist community exists and the economic integration of the socialist countries is being intensified in every possible way, this question, while retaining its importance, is being posed in a somewhat different way. While agreeing to business cooperation with the West and importing technology, the socialist states should themselves produce on a high technical level vitally important types of products and should consolidate by means of integration their competitive positions on world markets.

The policy of the socialist countries of guaranteeing technical and economic independence, of course, has nothing in common with the policy of economic self-sufficiency. The socialist states are opponents to economic isolation and have always supported mutually advantageous business contacts with countries of the opposing social system and the elimination of all discriminatory restrictions in these contacts.

The 1970's were characterized by some progress in trade and economic relations. Along with the increase of the number of ties between the socialist and capitalist states their mechanism was also improved. Important agreements on scientific, technical and production cooperation were concluded, long-term (mainly 10-year) programs, which include mutual obligations on the promotion of the implementation of large-scale plans, the establishment of joint firms and the easing of the terms of financing, were agreed on.

The long-term, large-scale approach to the development of business cooperation, which is permeated with the spirit of realism, found concentrated expression in the Final Act of the all-European conference on security and cooperation. Being a carefully weighed balance of the interests of all the participating states, a platform of their actions in favor of peace and good-neighbor relations and the natural result of the positive shifts in international life, this document outlined ways to step up trade and economic cooperation between the East and the West in the most diverse directions.

II

The diverse business contacts between East and West in the end are reflected in the volume and structure of barter, which traditionally is the leading form of business relations. The barter of the CEMA member countries with industrial capitalist states has developed quite unevenly. The world economic crisis of 1974-1975 and the deterioration of the economic situation of the capitalist countries adversely affected their commodity turnover. Nevertheless, its volume in current prices increased from 7.5 billion rubles in 1965 to 47.5 billion rubles in 1978, that is, 6.3-fold. Whereas in 1966-1970 the average annual growth rate of this trade did not exceed approximately 13 percent, in 1971-1978 it was nearly 18 percent. True, to a certain extent this acceleration is explained by the rapid increase of world prices under the influence of the energy crisis of 1973-1974.

Trade with industrially developed capitalist states occupies a quite important place in the foreign trade turnover of the socialist countries. In 1965 this group of states in the total foreign trade turnover of the socialist community accounted for 21.1 percent, in the mid-1970's--30 percent, while in 1978--27.3 percent.² This indicator is the highest for Poland, Romania and Hungary.

Table 1

Trade of CEMA Countries With Industrially Developed Capitalist States

	1970		1975		1978	
	millions of rubles	percent of total foreign trade turnover of country	millions of rubles	percent of total foreign trade turnover of country	millions of rubles	percent of total foreign trade turnover of country
Bulgaria.	572	16.6	1276	17.0	1280	12.4
Hungary	1222	28.4	2112	24.4	5621	34.8
GDR	2067	24.4	4132	25.9	4709	22.7
Republic of Cuba. .	--	--	1747	31.5	866	13.8
Mongolia.	--	--	4	1.1	6.7	1.4
Poland.	1743	27.1	7044	41.3	7790	36.2
Romania	1227	35.8	2920	36.7	--	--
USSR.	4694	21.2	15843	31.3	19680	28.0
Czechoslovakia. . .	1509	22.4	2719	22.4	3410	20.7

Starting in 1976, as a result of economic difficulties in the capitalist world and various types of discriminatory measures on the part of the authorities of a number of capitalist states, the growth of the commodity turnover between East and West slowed somewhat. However, the growth rate of exports from CEMA countries continued to increase.

2. Calculated according to "Sodruzhestvo sotsialisticheskoye" [The Socialist Community], Moscow, 1973, pp 140, 165; "Statisticheskii yezhegodnik stran-chlenov Soveta Ekonomicheskoy Vzaimopomoshchi" [Statistical Yearbook of the Member Countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance], Moscow, 1976, pp 339, 341; "Narodnoye khozyaystvo stran-chlenov Soveta Ekonomicheskoy Vzaimopomoshchi" [The National Economy of the Member Countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance], Moscow, 1979, pp 265, 267.

One of the features of the trade of the socialist countries with the group of industrially developed capitalist states is that for a long time the CEMA countries had an unfavorable trade balance, which was covered primarily by credits (see Table 2). As a result, the gradual equalization of the trade balance and the creation of a surplus to pay off the formed debt became one of the most important tasks of the foreign trade policy of the socialist countries. This task is quite solvable, which is attested by the trend which has appeared in recent years. The total trade deficit of the CEMA countries with the West during 1971-1978 was 39.4 billion rubles, including 21.4 billion rubles in 1976-1978.

Table 2

Trade Balance of CEMA Members With Industrially Developed Capitalist States
(in current prices, billions of rubles)

	1965	1970	1975	1976 ¹	1977 ¹	1978 ¹	1966- 1970	1971- 1978 ¹
Exports.	3.6	6.0	14.5	16.4	17.6	18.2	24.8	106.2
Imports.	3.9	7.0	23.3	24.7	23.7	25.2	27.7	145.6
Commodity turnover .	7.5	13.0	37.8	41.1	41.3	43.4	52.5	251.8
Trade balance. . . .	-0.3	-1.0	-8.8	-8.3	-6.1	-7.0	-2.9	-39.4

1. Excluding Romania.

The opponents of the expansion of business cooperation between the states of the opposing systems state that the problem of the debt of the socialist countries is the main obstacle in this path. The normal international practice of granting credits is depicted by them as entailing a particular risk. The interest of the West in the profitable investment of surplus financial resources is intentionally ignored and, on the contrary, the need of the socialist countries for western credits is exaggerated in every way. Meanwhile it is well known that the business circles of the capitalist states, while agreeing to grant major credits to the socialist countries, are trying to alleviate their own economic difficulties and to stimulate the expansion of their own national exports.

The socialist states are expediting the implementation of their economic plans by means of borrowed capital, as well as are increasing the exports of products to the West, especially on the basis of compensatory deals. Without underestimating the difficulties connected with the need to increase the competitiveness of export goods from the socialist countries, it is necessary to emphasize that a number of capitalist states in clear violation of the Helsinki understandings are practicing and even stepping up the tariff and nontariff discrimination against exports from CEMA countries. Of all the goods being exported by them to EEC countries, the proportion of goods, which come under quantitative restrictions, can be estimated at approximately 40 percent.

The establishment of quotas on and the licensing of the imports of EEC countries from CEMA states are reinforced by the practice of imposing duties. Tariffs at the level of 12-20 percent, which are aimed against the most promising types of exports from the CEMA countries, have been established in the EEC. In 1976-1978 various capitalist countries imposed new, special nontariff restrictions on imports from socialist countries. Among them there are first of all the "technical trade restrictions."

The development of East-West business contacts is being adversely affected by their asymmetry. Whereas the share of the West in the foreign trade turnover of CEMA countries, as was already mentioned, amounts to one-third, the share of the latter in the turnover of capitalist states is only 3-4 percent. Among the capitalist states the West European states and first of all the Common Market members are the main partners of the CEMA countries. In 1978 they accounted for about 55 percent of the foreign trade turnover of CEMA countries with the West.

The most prominent partner for many years has been the FRG (in 1978 about 21 percent of the foreign trade turnover of CEMA countries with the West). The share of the countries of the socialist community in its foreign trade turnover is approximately 6-7 percent as against 3-5 percent in the foreign trade of the other EEC states. In addition to geographical proximity and traditions, the considerable scale of trade with this country is explained by the complementarity of the economic structures of the partners, the greater activity and flexibility of West German firms as compared with the companies of other capitalist states when concluding trade deals with the CEMA countries and the high technical level of West German goods. Among the major contractors of the CEMA countries are France and Italy: in 1978 each had more than 8 percent of the total commodity turnover of CEMA with the West.

In the trade of CEMA countries with industrially developed states the share of Japan is increasing especially rapidly. More than 10 percent of its exports of metal working equipment and more than 13 percent of its exports of rolled steel are sold in countries of the socialist community. At the same time Japan is a major importer of the products of the mining and raw material sectors of industry of the socialist states, first of all the USSR. Thus, in 1976 Japan accounted for more than 40 percent of all the exports from CEMA countries of unsawn timber, more than 15 percent of the coal and about 10 percent of the nonferrous metals and alloys.

The trade relations of the states of the socialist community and the United States have developed very unevenly. As is known, the influence of the forces, which are turning foreign trade policy into one of the sources of the strain of international relations, so far is great in the country. They are trying to use protectionism as a weapon of economic and political pressure on their partners. These forces especially let themselves go in early 1980 in connection with the events in Afghanistan. The unilateral repudiation of trade deals and understandings with the Soviet Union is capable of resulting in the destabilization of the world economic situation. Having

shown itself to be an unearnest, unreliable contractor in business contacts, the United States has punished first of all itself, having weakened its competitive positions on the world markets and shaken even more the confidence of other states in American trade and currency policy.

The states of Europe, which prefer not to bind themselves entirely with such economic groups as the EEC and to maintain a position of economic neutrality in the competitive struggle between the three centers of the modern capitalist world, are actively promoting the regulation and favorable evolution of relations between East and West as a whole and foreign trade ties in particular. Among them first of all are Finland and Austria, which in 1978 accounted for about 12 percent of all the foreign trade of the CEMA countries with industrially developed capitalist states.

When analyzing the exports of CEMA member countries the nonconformity of the commodity structure to the structure of the industrial potential attracts attention. They have a mighty, multisectorial and technically advanced industry, which operates for exports. However, the proportion of machine building products in the exports to the West in 1978 did not exceed 10 percent, while in the total exports of the individual socialist countries these goods accounted for 20 percent (the USSR) to 55 percent (the GDR). The extensive monopolization of the main western markets of machinery, equipment and means of transportation is significantly complicating the sale of items from the socialist countries. The overcoming of trade tariff and nontariff restrictions also requires considerable efforts.

In order to increase the proportion in exports of finished items, especially machinery and equipment, in the CEMA countries special steps are being taken, as a result of which the proportion of technically improved items is increasing. For example, the export of pipe rolling equipment, including mills for the cold rolling of precision thin-walled pipe with rollers, is being actively developed.

Joint design developments of the CEMA countries, as well as scientific and technical cooperation with capitalist firms are promoting the expansion of exports of machine building items to capitalist markets. Thus, a license for the technology of producing high-pressure polyethylene, which was developed by research institutions of the USSR and the GDR, has been purchased by Salzgitter (the FRG).³

Cooperation, which is oriented toward exports, of machine building enterprises of the socialist countries with the leading machine building companies of England, the FRG, France, Sweden and Italy is being successfully developed. Polish machine tools, which have been adapted to the control system used in American industry, are well known on the U.S. market. Equipment for the surfacing of metal and plastics is being developed in Poland jointly with Oxymetal Finishing International (the United States).

3. VNESHNYAYA TORGOVLYA, No 12, 1975, p 51.

The CEMA countries are selling on western markets such finished goods as passenger cars, electrical items, power equipment and some types of instruments and pharmaceuticals. But the proportion of finished goods in the exports is still increasing slowly.

More than one-third of the imports of the CEMA member countries from capitalist states consist of machinery and equipment. As a result, for example, in Hungary the value of imported equipment from countries of the West in 1975 was approximately 10 percent of the total amount of national economic capital investments and more than 20 percent of the total expenditures on installed equipment. Many new construction projects in the USSR, Poland and other CEMA countries have been equipped entirely or for the most part with western equipment.

Along with this the industrially developed capitalist countries function as suppliers to the CEMA market of a number of foodstuffs and raw material goods, as well as materials (rolled ferrous metals, including pipe, cellulose and paper). The share of this commodity group in the imports of the CEMA countries is, as with machinery, about one-third. In trade with the United States and Canada, which supplied considerable amounts of grain, in the 1970's it was higher. Having adopted a policy of returning to the Cold War, the U.S. administration in violation of concluded contracts has imposed a ban on the export of grain to the Soviet Union. Consumer goods, as well as materials and other components, which are necessary for their production, are playing an appreciable role.

The commodity composition of the exchange between the socialist and the industrially developed capitalist countries needs some improvement so that the opportunities of exchange could be expanded. One of the directions of this improvement is the increase of the mutual exchange of assemblies, parts and various components within the framework of agreements on industrial cooperation. The search for other forms of business cooperation should favorably affect the structure of barter.

III

In recent years the trade and economic relations between the CEMA member countries and the capitalist states have been enriched by new, nontraditional forms of cooperation, among which industrial cooperation and the exchange (transfer) of technology are the most promising. Industrial cooperation includes agreements, which provide for a varying degree of production, scientific and technical interdependence of the partners, for example, the granting of licenses; the supply of complete sets of equipment and production lines with subsequent repayment of their cost with finished products obtained at the corresponding capacities; joint scientific research and production on the basis of specialization; joint surveying, designing and construction of projects in third countries.

So far the most developed form of cooperation--joint production, when the long-term exchange of parts and components is set up and the output of

products by each partner is organized--has played a relatively modest role. One of the examples of this kind is the cooperation of Poland with the Italian company Fiat in the production of compact cars. Great reserves for extending business relations are undoubtedly contained in the expansion of industrial cooperation. Their use, however, involves an increase of the mutual trust of the parties, the strict observance of technological and commercial discipline and the use of flexible organizational forms. But cooperative relations are frequently complicated due to the aspiration of capitalist firms for one-sided advantages and the sale of licenses for equipment from yesterday.

The diverse and flexible forms of industrial cooperation, which rest on firm contractual bases of relations, may become a factor of the stabilization of mutual economic contacts. In particular, concessionary taxation and the practically complete lack of tariff and nontariff barriers with respect to shipments under subcontracting arrangements were conducive to the fact that even during the period of the decline of production and demand on the capitalist market in the mid-1970's the exports of machine and equipment from CEMA countries through cooperative channels continued to increase. Here the dynamics of the shipments under subcontracting arrangements exceeds by three- to fourfold the growth rate of the foreign trade turnover between CEMA and the West.

The number of agreements on industrial cooperation, which in 1973 numbered about 600, has now exceeded 1,500. Deliveries of products produced on the basis of cooperation account for more than 16 percent of all Polish exports and approximately 20 percent of Hungarian exports of machinery and equipment to capitalist countries. In conformity with the classification of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, in 1977 licenses made up 17.1 percent of all agreements, deliveries of complete sets of equipment and enterprises--20.5 percent, agreements on specialization--38.3 percent. Joint enterprises, which in 1977 made up 10.5 percent, are a relatively new form of cooperative agreements.

The analysis of the sectorial structure of industrial cooperation between East and West attests that it mainly covers machine building, including the production of means of transportation (45 percent) and the chemical industry (20 percent). Among the capitalist countries industrial cooperation with CEMA states is practiced most extensively by the FRG, which accounts for more than 30 percent of all cooperative agreements. Austria, France, Italy, Sweden, Japan and Finland are also active participants in this process.

The achievement of cooperative agreements with capitalist firms was conducive to an increase of mutual cooperation and specialization of the CEMA countries on a multilateral basis in such sectors as automaking and shipbuilding, the radio industry, the production of machine tools and tools, the chemical industry, the production of tractors and other agricultural machinery. Industrial cooperation with capitalist companies has undergone the greatest development in Hungary, Poland and Romania. They account for 80 percent of all East-West cooperative agreements (Hungary and Poland--60 percent, Romania--20 percent).

The combination of production cooperation with scientific and technical cooperation, the forms and methods of which have become exceptionally diverse, is becoming a typical trait of the relations forming between East and West. The exchange of licenses, patents, know-how and technology has undergone the greatest development. In the future the exchange of licenses can no longer be limited only to the commercial transaction of buying and selling. As the objects of the license (for example, production technology) become more complex, the exchange of licenses should be transformed into a full-fledged form of scientific and technical cooperation, which includes joint designing and the debugging of designs. All the European CEMA countries are involved in the exchange of licenses and patents with capitalist countries. And although the socialist countries so far have been buying more licenses than they have been selling, the number of licenses sold by them to the West is increasing. Thus, the growth rate of the export of Soviet licenses in recent years has been about 30 percent. Firms of the United States, the FRG, France, England and other countries are their buyers.

The socialist and industrially developed capitalist countries are conducting joint basic research, as well as performing applied development. The shift from cooperation only in the field of science and technology to its combination with comprehensive interrelations--in the field of planning and designing, production and marketing--is affording new opportunities in production, scientific and technical cooperation. Obviously, in the future the practice of bringing the results of the scientific and technical research, which has been carried out by one of the parties, to the stage of industrial assimilation by joint efforts will be developed. At the same time it is possible to anticipate an increase of the exchange of patents and licenses, the linking of patent rights and the technology of the socialist countries with the corresponding rights and technology of partners for joint issuing in third countries.

Another promising form of industrial, scientific and technical cooperation is assistance to third states, first of all developing states, in the building of industrial facilities and the organization of modern works. There are already 200 such types of cooperation. All the socialist countries and, on the part of the West, France, the FRG, Austria, Italy and others are involved in it.

Special consortiums are being set up more and more often for the purpose of implementing the plans of multilateral cooperation by analogy with the consortium set up by firms of France, the FRG, Poland and Yugoslavia for the construction of power facilities in India or the consortium with the participation of the USSR Foreign Trade Bank, which is financing the construction of hydraulic engineering facilities in Brazil.

The business contacts of the socialist and capitalist countries are also assuming the form of joint business undertakings, that is, joint enterprises or joint-stock companies of a production nature on the territory of both the socialist and the capitalist states. By early 1977 312 firms with the

participation of socialist countries had been registered.⁴ The USSR, Poland and Hungary are setting up joint-stock companies most extensively. For the most part the joint enterprises are financial (banks), marketing and forwarding enterprises, but some of them assume production functions, for example, the making up of sets and installation, thereby promoting the expansion of barter and the increase of its effectiveness.

As to the setting up of joint enterprises on the territory of socialist countries, the experience gained in this area is still inadequate to assess the prospects of their development under the conditions of a planned economy. The legislation of a number of socialist countries makes provisions for the setting up of joint enterprises on their territory with the participation of foreign capital. Owing to such enterprises the socialist countries are able to attract foreign capital and technology for the development of a number of new works. The foreign participants receive the profits for the capital invested by them and have an opportunity to influence the organization of the works and thereby its revenue.

Joint enterprises to a certain extent promote the expansion of export works, the increase of the technical level and quality of products and the alleviation of the shortage of capital investments. Effective control over the activity of joint enterprises on the part of the socialist states is ensured owing to the predominant share of national participation and the state monopoly in the field of foreign relations.

The improvement of the legal mechanism (bilateral and multilateral) and of various institutions, which are called upon to further these relations, is conducive to the further development of business cooperation between the socialist and capitalist states. In this connection the normalization of relations between the two European integrational communities--CEMA and the EEC--is of particular urgency. Their activity influences the course and prospects of detente, and therefore the CEMA member countries support the establishment between both organizations of those relations which would conform completely to the spirit of the Final Act of the conference on security and would facilitate the expansion of equal, mutually advantageous relations between the states of the different socio-economic systems.

As is known, in the Common Market the conclusion of trade agreements with CEMA countries, just as the determination of the trade policy with respect to them, has become the exclusive prerogative of supranational bodies: the Council of Ministers of the EEC and the Commission of European Communities. The CEMA countries justly see in the unequal scheme of the conclusion of trade agreements "the EEC--individual CEMA countries" a threat to their interests. Therefore, bilateral agreements on economic, scientific and

4. "Novyy etap ekonomicheskogo sotrudnichestva SSSR s ravitymi kapitalisticheskimi stranami" /The New Stage of USSR Economic Cooperation With Developed Capitalist Countries/, Moscow, 1978, p 47.

technical cooperation with individual EEC members are the preferable form of the regulation of business contacts on the state level, since such agreements are not within the competence of the Common Market.

The bilateral agreements on economic, technical and industrial cooperation between the CEMA member countries and West European states cover nearly all the sectors of the economy and call for joint appearances on the markets of third countries, the setting up of joint enterprises, industrial cooperation, the elimination of some restrictions in mutual trade and the granting of credits. Like the other CEMA member countries, the Soviet Union, for example, has agreements on cooperation with practically all the West European states.⁵

The socialist countries support the flexible combination of multilateral and bilateral agreements between East and West and proceed from the consistent implementation of the principle of equality of the partners. In this sense all-European cooperation would unquestionably gain, if between the integrational associations business relations were established, which were based on their common interest in solving the vital economic problems of the European continent. The initiative of the CEMA countries on establishing CEMA-EEC contacts for the purpose of concluding the appropriate agreement between them completely meets these objectives. The "model" of economic relations in Europe, which is proposed by the EEC and in case of which the Community as a whole would deal only with individual CEMA member countries, and not with their collective economic organization, does not ensure the genuine equality of the sides.

The CEMA countries believe that the conclusion of a "framework" agreement between CEMA and its members, on the one hand, and the EEC and its members, on the other, is necessary for the constructive solution of questions of mutual cooperation, the diversification of the structure of exchange, as well as the assurance of favorable conditions for utilizing the potentials of the world division of labor. The agreement is called upon to specify the general outlines of the solution of a number of problems which are complicating the interrelations of CEMA and the EEC. It could not only improve the conditions of trade, economic and financial cooperation, but also commence the development of relations in such fields as standardization, environmental protection, statistics and economic forecasts of production and consumption according to agreed on themes.

The USSR with the backing of the other socialist countries supports the holding of all-European congresses or interstate conferences on questions of cooperation in the field of environmental protection, the development of transportation and power engineering, which could provide new stimuli to business cooperation between the countries of the East and the West.

In order for the mutually advantageous opportunities, which are being afforded by the business cooperation of the countries of the opposing social systems,

5. For more detail see VNESHNYAYA TORGOVLYA, No 8, 1979, pp 2-3.

to be utilized more completely in the interests of all peoples and the preservation of lasting peace, constant efforts of both parties are required. Much depends on how resolutely the progressive world public counteracts the opponents of detente and opposes their attempts to torpedo the development of mutually advantageous East-West economic relations. The socialist states proceed from the fact that the principles of international relations, which are recorded in the Final Act of the conference in Helsinki, create a reliable basis for the further development of equal, stable and mutually advantageous business cooperation between the socialist and capitalist states. The economic, trade, scientific and technical ties, which are being expanded on their basis, form the living fabric of a lasting peace and meet the interests of all peoples.

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INTERNATIONAL

POLYANOV ON U.S. ATTEMPTS TO ALTER STRATEGIC BALANCE IN EUROPE

Moscow ZNAMYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 197-208

[Article by N. Polyanov, Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security: "Black December in Evere"]

[Excerpts] Evere. A suburb of Brussels. This time there is an especially large crowd beside the iron fence about the NATO headquarters: The North Atlantic alliance is trumpeting its traditional winter assembly. The calendar says it is the middle of the last month of 1979. Reporters hurry to the lobbies reserved for the press. Generals and politicians stream into the famous hall with its oval table, where the alliance's supreme political organ--its council--meets. This session is deemed a "special" session: Ministers of foreign affairs, ministers of defense, the top military ranks, and experts from 15 NATO countries are represented at the oval table. The objective of this session is to railroad through one of the blackest decisions that the Atlantic council has ever had to adopt. I am referring to deployment, in West Europe, of almost 600 American nuclear missiles of a new generation--108 Pershing-2 launchers and 464 Tomahawk cruise missiles.

Was the meeting successful? For the "hawks" on both sides of the ocean, for the arms manufacturers, for the generals, and for those who feel most comfortable in the trenches of the "cold war," it was perhaps successful. For Europe, for the whole world, for the millions of people who want a clean sky above their heads, the NATO decision was a danger signal.

It was not sounded right away, this signal. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance once admitted that 2 years of preparations taking the form of "active consultations" preceded the December decision in Evere. Reliable sources assert that the chief of America's diplomatic department "erred" by at least 3 years: The notion of deploying new American missiles in West Europe arose together with the appearance of their first outlines on the drawing boards of the Lockheed Corporation and other companies of the USA's military-industrial complex. West Europe did not yet harbor even a suspicion of the Pershings and Tomahawks, but Pentagon generals were already scheming about how and when to implement their new strategic venture: insure the so-called "priority of Europe" in the plans of American hegemonism,

make West Europeans Washington's nuclear hostages, and prepare the grounds for a withdrawal from the Helsinki talks, this most important historic landmark along the road of European relaxation. They went to work in Washington with their sleeves rolled up. During the last year the "active consultations" proceeded especially actively, and rather off-handedly.

This is what we would hear, for example, from David Aaron, a special ambassador sent by President J. Carter to Western capitals twice last year. He attempted to persuade the United States' junior partners, he threatened them, and he frightened them with the "Russian danger." In other words he twisted their arms. In only two capitals--London and Bonn--was he able to find ears willing to listen. Both times he left The Hague empty-handed, and Brussels in the same way; the Danes gave him a more than chilly reception, and the Norwegians did not even want to entertain the notion of nuclear weapons on their soil. When it became clear in the middle of last year that it was going to be no less difficult to impose the American nuclear missile project upon the West Europeans than the neutron bomb, Washington unexpectedly received hopeful news from the banks of the Rhine: West German Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher assumed the role of chief persuader. And so the diplomatic merrygoround began. Genscher hastens to The Hague, to Brussels, and to Washington. The Dutch and Belgian ministers are feted in Bonn. Emergency talks are held in Copenhagen and Oslo.

To the uninformed, everything is still under wraps. Meanwhile something strange and foreboding occurs in the shadows of conspiracy. What happens is described by Bundeswehr Captain-Lieutenant Erhardt Muller--he recently became a citizen of the German Democratic Republic. It turns out that an American-West German "secret group" was created on the banks of the Rhine with its headquarters in Bad Godesberg--a small resort town that was absorbed within the city limits of Greater Bonn a few years ago. In the silence of the offices, under the strictest police guard, and in a situation of the deepest secrecy, officers of the "secret group" prepared false materials about the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact countries, about their military doctrine and intentions, and so on.

The Washington-Bonn "secret group", of which, naturally, other Atlantic allies has not even the slightest awareness--worked with a single goal, to throw out "dependable data" on the "insidious Russians" to ministers in The Hague and Brussels, in Rome and London, and in the Scandinavian capitals, and to mislead the partners such that the supreme NATO council could capitalize on their confusion and achieve complete obedience.

What Captain-Lieutenant Muller said sheds light on morals in the top circles of the Atlantic alliance: Without blinking an eye, they will even deceive "their own"--anything to make them agree to one militarist adventure or another. We need not doubt that the "great lie" was also resorted to in the preparation of the NATO decision to deploy new American missiles in West Europe. The partners were left totally uninformed concerning the consequences such a project would harbor. Nor were they told the real reasons for the new spiral in the Atlantic arms race.

It was revealed at the very eve of the Evre meeting, however, that the NATO machine was beginning to skid. The Dutch parliament voted against deploying nuclear missiles in West Europe. The Belgian government declared its doubts. The Danes and Norwegians stubbornly recommended rejection of the dangerous undertaking. It was then that the White House itself interfered: It subjected the prime ministers of the Netherlands and Norway to a sound brainwashing during their visit to the American capital, and it also employed shock effects. State Secretary Cyrus Vance and presidential national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski worked the Danish minister of foreign affairs over in the same way. One can imagine Washington's disappointment when it became known following the Evre meeting that contrary to expectations, rather than five countries--England, West Germany, Italy, Holland, and Belgium--only three agreed to accept American missiles. The Dutch ministers declared that they would not be prepared to talk about missiles for at least 2 years. Belgium tabled its decision for half a year. The Dutch and the Norwegians, remaining true to their tradition, refused to allow the military atom into their home.

A few weeks after the events in December of the past year, it became obvious to Washington and Bonn that West Europe was not about to accept, without reservations, the malevolent New Years gift brought to it by the NATO Santa Claus. Europeans are beginning to ask more and more: Were the 1970's really so bad for Europe? After all, didn't all countries on the continent, as well as the United States and Canada, gain from Helsinki? Hasn't the psychological atmosphere improved? Didn't the horizons of economic mutual relations between the two Europes--socialist and capitalist--broaden? Weren't the hopes of military relaxation beginning to assume realistic outlines? Of course, chill winds are still sometimes felt in Europe even after Helsinki, but everyone can see that what had appeared to be fantastic just half a decade ago had now become commonplace. Here is an example. Soviet gas is now flowing in a powerful stream to West Europe in pipes delivered to our country by the Dusseldorf Mannesmann Company. The associated contract is effective until the year 2003--to the beginning of the next millennium! Consider, meanwhile, that just 17 years ago Chancellor Adenauer placed a prohibition upon delivery of the pipes to the Soviet Union under the pressure of the Americans. Seventeen years is not a very long time. But imagine how far Europe has traveled during this time!

Or, take military maneuvers in the continent's west and east. Following Helsinki, they are attended by officer-observers "from the other side." It stands to reason that the militarist exercises of the Atlantic allies have not become less dangerous as a result. But exchange of observers is a step toward greater trust between the two military groupings facing each other in Europe. All Europeans could only win from such a step.

Were a contemporary of ours to follow in the footsteps of Le Sage's lame demon and rise above the rooftops into the clouds to survey Europe with a single glance in time and in space, he would probably give a good grade to the 1970's. It stands to reason that there had been many difficulties and

complexities, and that rises alternated with falls. Big politics rarely proceed along a straight and ascending line. They are typified by zig-zags, and on occasion they march in place. And yet no one is about to reject the notion that by the end of the past decade the Europeans had more grounds, than at its beginning, to believe that the tragedy of war would not be repeated.

If this is so, then why, people ask in perturbation, are the NATO leaders pushing our continent into a new round in the arms race? Washington has two responses in this regard--the first short and the second long.

The first goes like this: "There was no other solution." That's a lie. There was a solution, and it was well known in the Western capitals. I am referring to the Soviet Union's historic proposal presented in Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's speech in Berlin on 6 October of last year.

On that day I was at the republic's palace in Berlin, where I saw how attentively the people listened to Leonid Il'ich and with how much inspiration they received his words. He warned them of the lethal consequences of placing new contingents of medium-range nuclear weapons in West Europe. "We are prepared," L. I. Brezhnev said, "to reduce, in comparison with the present level, the quantity of medium-range nuclear weapons deployed in the western regions of the Soviet Union--but of course only in the event that West Europe would not deploy additional medium-range weapons." To reinforce the sincerity of the USSR's intentions the chief of our party and the Soviet state announced a unilateral step to be taken by the Soviet Union--removal of 22,000 servicemen and 1,000 tanks as well as a certain quantity of other military equipment from the GDR in the course of 12 months. This was an appeal to the West: Be reasonable, begin a dialog with us, do not embark upon a new adventure that could cost you drastically.

Precisely a month later, Leonid Il'ich noted in an interview with a PRAVDA reporter that there was only one way to practically resolve the issue of medium-range nuclear weapons--begin negotiations without delay. "We are ready for this. The next move belongs to the Western countries. However, it would be important to refrain from taking hasty actions that could complicate the situation and hinder attainment of positive results." A NATO decision to deploy a new generation of American missiles in West Europe would be such an interference--and this was said with all seriousness.

Now let us go on to the longer response of the Atlantic allies to the anxious questions of the Europeans. It goes as follows: An "imbalance of forces" has supposedly formed in Europe. Soviet medium-range missiles, called the SS-20's in the West, and bombers, given the code name Backfire there, have become such a serious threat to West Europe that it is forced to arm itself even more. This, they say, is the only reason that they need Tomahawks and Pershings, capable of delivering nuclear warheads to Soviet territory. As we know, this militarist scenario has been in existence for a long time already. It is now being implemented with demonic speed. At

first, two and a half years ago, a decision to raise the military expenditures of the member countries by 3 percent was railroaded through the supreme council of NATO. Then Washington's malevolent "military five-year plan" was prepared; it was recently announced by President J. Carter. To cap it all off, they forced their partners to accept the nuclear yoke. One gets the impression that the roles had been allotted beforehand, the schedule was written up, and the West Europeans had nowhere else to go.

I was able to witness, on Bonn television, one of those contrived films having the purpose of placing the honorable burger in a state of despair. Filmed in fabulous color, together with all of the tricks of cinematographic art, "Soviet tanks" rushed by ancient sleepy hamlets through the Luneburg wastelands and the Teutoburger Wald, swiftly breaking into the cities, and the careless and trusting people, who did not want to empty their pockets for new NATO armaments, found themselves "in the hands of the Russians." Of course it might be said that this unsophisticated concoction would not persuade any educated individual. But what about the uneducated? Or the man in the street burdened by petty affairs? Moreover the movie screen and the television are not the only things frightening the Europeans. General (Kloz), a Belgian, wrote a whole book about how weak the NATO defenses were and how quickly, in just 2 days, Soviet soldiers could push almost all of the way to the shores of the Atlantic.

The myth of a "missile breach in the West" was not put into circulation idly. Its purpose was to justify the actions taken by the Atlantic leaders, who made it their goal to transform West Europe into a nuclear missile ground at any price. Why?, we ask. To respond to the "challenge from the East"? No, for other purposes. After all, the Soviet Union and its partners in the Warsaw Pact have never disturbed the balance of military forces in Europe. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev recalled in his Berlin speech that in the last 10 years, the number of medium-range nuclear weapon delivery vehicles in the European part of the Soviet Union had not increased by a single missile or a single airplane. On the contrary the number of medium-range missile launchers and the power of the nuclear charges contained within these missiles even decreased somewhat. The quantity of medium bombers was also reduced. And the Soviet Union does not deploy such weapons at all on the territories of other states.

The Institute for the Study of the Problems of Peace and the Politics of Security is now situated in Hamburg, on the bank of the Elba, in a small building concealed by century-old pines. It is headed by Count von (Baudissin), formerly a Bundeswehr general and later a NATO official. Of course, we cannot expect a former general to completely reject NATO dogmas. But he is a scholar with a clear head, and he feels that it would be best of all to view the modern world with the eyes of a realist. Von Baudissin emphasized many times in the last few months that there is no "superiority of the Soviet Union over the West" to be observed in Europe. Studying the medium-range nuclear weapon problem, his assistant, Dr. Dieter Lutz came to the conclusion: "It is NATO and not the Warsaw Pact that is leading the race in

European strategic nuclear arms." He goes on to say "When we began studying the ratio of forces, we came to the conclusion that in the so-called Euronuclear sphere, there can be no discussion of wrongdoings against NATO. On the contrary there are grounds for suggesting that the Warsaw Pact has been forced to respond to the growing quantitative and qualitative standards of the corresponding NATO forces."

Now we are down to the bottom of it! The medium-range weapons about which the Atlantic allies raised a racket were a response to the West's nuclear potential. And this potential includes within itself a system of forward basing of American airplanes at West European airfields; aircraft aboard carriers of the American Sixth Fleet, plowing the Mediterranean Sea; American nuclear submarines present in European waters, armed with Poseidon missiles capable of reaching Soviet territory; English and French nuclear potentials. In a word, the main command of NATO is armed with atoms to the teeth, and in order to equalize the European balance, the Soviet Union was forced to take its steps.

Incidentally Dr. Lutz recalls that even according to Western data, the first SS-20 did not appear until a year after the Pershing-2 was already being prepared for production. Hence follows the conclusion that the American missile could in no way have been a response to a Soviet missile, since there was simply no such thing in the European part of our country at that time. So go the details of the criminal lies to which NATO leaders have resorted as a means for misleading the West Europeans.

Here are the basics of Washington's new strategic creed--attempt, at the European level, to tilt the balance of forces in its favor after equality and identical security of the sides are established at the global level, as a result of the Vienna summit talks. Need we mention that Washington politicians and generals are troubled little by the fate of West Europe? It is in a sense being placed on a powder keg, the fuse of which is in the hands of the NATO leaders, in the hands of the American militarists. At the beginning of this year President J. Carter once again made it clear on American television: Washington is the least concerned with the fate of the West Europeans when it imposes new medium-range American missiles upon them. Washington pursues only its own self-interested goals.

But the doctrine of dangerous adventures that has achieved its embodiment in the decisions of the special NATO session cannot have any future. Those who are counting on conducting negotiations from a position of strength will have to abandon these idle hopes. Our country will never let anyone speak to it in such language. Nor will it ever allow the NATO bloc to achieve military superiority. Both the Soviet Union and its allies will see to their security. They are not proponents of balancing on the "brink of war." They see their main task as the struggle for a secure peace, for relaxation, and against the designs of aggressive and militarist circles.

A peaceful sky above Belgium, a peaceful sky above all Europe. Every person on the planet should have a peaceful sky above his head. Our long-suffering continent must never be shaken again by either a seven-years' or a thirty-years' or a hundred-years' or even a hundred-minutes' war. After all, an intercontinental missile takes about 20 minutes to fly to its target, while a "Eurorocket" takes only four and a half. It does not take much imagination to envision how much death and how much destruction a hundred minutes of war could cause. The people are beginning to understand this more and more clearly. Never before have they taken to the streets and convened at representative forums so often, resolutely protesting against nuclear death. They have managed to shut Europe's door firmly against the neutron bomb. And today they have no desire more passionate than that of blocking the path of the Pershings and Tomahawks.

The Europeans are beginning the 1980's with an impressive movement for the security of their continent.

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INTERNATIONAL

COORDINATING NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 85-97

[Article by Viktor Shevtsov: "Internationalism and Sovereignty--the Bases of the Relations of Socialist Countries"]

[Text] V. S. Shevtsov is a Doctor of Jurisprudence, a specialist in the area of the theory of the state and law, the author of the monographs "Citizenship in the Soviet Union State", "The CPSU and the State in the Developed Socialist Society", "The Political System of the USSR", and others. Below follows the publication of an abbreviated version of a chapter from the monograph "State Sovereignty (Questions of Theory)", Moscow, Nauka, 1979.

The most important aspect of the relations of the countries of the socialist commonwealth consists in the organic interrelationship and unity of the determining principles of their cooperation--socialist internationalism and sovereign equality.

The principle of socialist internationalism has been legally secured, above all, in a number of agreements concluded between the socialist states. From the contents of these international-legal documents it follows manifestly that the respect of state sovereignty, of all sovereign rights of the socialist state is presupposed by the very content of the principle of socialist internationalism.

The recognition of the state sovereignty of socialist states is an inalienable component of the principle of socialist internationalism. Of course, the unity of the countries of the socialist commonwealth does not lead to the absolute identity and the unconditional coincidence of all their interests. In the presence of the community of fundamental international interests, the concrete interests of individual socialist countries may not coincide in some cases. This has its internal reasons, in particular differences in the levels of economic and socio-political development that have been preserved, national-historical peculiarities,

international relations, and others.

The international unity of the socialist countries can be strong only under the condition of a consistent realization of the national interests of any socialist country. At the same time, every socialist country, if it is guided by the principles of internationalism, cannot but take into consideration in the development and realization of its policy the necessity of its conformity with the common goals of the struggle for socialism and communism.

The dialectic interrelationship of the international and the national in the interrelationships of socialist countries finds its embodiment in the fact that the fullest guarantee of the national interests of the peoples of the socialist countries is attained as a result of the consistent realization of their international interests. Practice shows that the violation of the dialectic of the combination of the national and international is connected with deviations from the Marxist-Leninist line, with manifestations of nationalism, great power chauvinism and hegemonism. Stating the necessity of observing the principles of sovereignty and the inadmissibility of any and all forms of violence of some peoples over others, V. I. Lenin simultaneously warned against tendencies of national narrow-mindedness: "Those who stood on the standpoint of nationalism, naturally, come to the desire to surround their nationality, their national labor movement, with a Chinese Wall".¹

By its very essence, nationalism is an ideology which is profoundly alien to the international solidarity of the working masses. It is capable of causing serious harm to the commonwealth of socialist nations, and thereby to the interests of the country which does not fight sufficiently decisively with the tendencies of nationalism. Socialist internationalism requires an appropriate feasible contribution of every country to the common cause of the development of the world system of socialism, to the solution of the common international task. For this reason any narrow-national narrow-mindedness and isolation are profoundly alien to socialist internationalism, as are mercenary and parasitical tendencies and sentiments. The principle of socialist internationalism, which presupposes the harmonious combination of national and common interests, is incompatible with the relapses of nationalism, which are manifested in the absolutization of national interests and the exaggeration of national peculiarities with respect to common regularities. As experience testifies, nationalism, no matter what the initial reasons for its development and the forms of its manifestation, is always aimed at the undermining of the basic foundations of the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries.

At the 25th CPSU Congress, L. I. Brezhnev said: "In relations with the countries of socialism, the CPSU firmly follows the tested rule: to conduct affairs in the spirit of genuine equality and interest in the successes of one another, to work out solutions bearing in mind not only national but also international interests. Regardless of what problems

might arise, it is our conviction that they must be solved in the spirit of strengthening friendship, unity and cooperation".²

The consolidation of the countries of the world socialist system in the military and political, as well as in the economic spheres, is the most important class task, which is connected with the necessity of determining the ways and forms of the further consolidation of the unity corresponding to the character of the contemporary international situation and the special features of the antagonism of the two world systems. The greater the success attained by every socialist country, the greater its concrete contribution to the strengthening of the world socialist system, the progressive, anti-imperialist forces in the whole world.

The application of the principles of socialist internationalism in the economic, foreign policy, cultural and scientific-technical cooperation enriches and develops the idea of the international duty and equality of nations. The interrelationship of the socialist countries is founded not only on the full equality and an respect of territorial integrity, the state independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, but also on the recognition of the necessity of mutual assistance and support.

The political and military cooperation of the socialist states, the organization of their military-political union are a vital necessity called forth by the whole course of historical development, by the international situation that has come into being.

In contemporary conditions, thanks to the persistent efforts of the USSR and other fraternal countries, the whole world revolutionary and national-liberation movement, the peace and security of nations have been strengthened and the principles of peaceful coexistence are being increasingly confirmed. This, however, is not indicative of any changes in the aggressive nature of imperialism. The threat of imperialist aggression in one region of the globe or another, on some sector of the front of the national liberation struggle constantly remains. The defense of peace and socialist achievements, therefore, demands the strengthening of the fighting union of the countries of the socialist commonwealth.

The function of the military defense of the socialist state under these circumstances acquires a content that is significantly broader than the securing of only the state interests of a country taken separately. It includes the creation of favorable international conditions for the development of the socialist commonwealth as a whole.

The international obligation of socialist countries in the sphere of defense of socialist achievements does not mean any reduction of appropriate national tasks. By its socialist nature, the military defense of socialism is a special form of class struggle against imperialism and its attempts

resolve international contradictions by force. It encompasses a system of measures directed toward the strengthening of the defense capacity of the individual socialist states and the commonwealth as a whole to provide it with sufficient military capability to avert an attack, to prevent the possibility of interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries.

The most important perspectives and directions of the development of every socialist country can be determined in conformity with the common goals of the world system of socialism. Therefore, the international tasks acquire chief significance in the military-political activity of the socialist countries. For the commonwealth of the countries of the world system of socialism, the agreement of concrete political goals and means for their attainment with the general strategic conception of the defense of socialism is particularly important. The military cooperation of the socialist countries is the sphere of their joint actions in which the question of the very existence of the national security of these states is decided. Therefore, the coordination of the actions of every detachment with all of the fraternal countries, with the Soviet Union, which is the most powerful state of the world system of socialism, serves as the highest criterion of loyalty to internationalism.

The military-political cooperation of the socialist countries, the first phase of which began already during the years of the second world war, was the most important factor in the strengthening of the friendship and mutual assistance of the peoples of these countries in the process of the formation of the world socialist system.

During the second phase of the military-political cooperation of the socialist states the system of bilateral agreements on friendship, alliance and mutual assistance was the guarantee of security. These agreements contained special provisions concerning the cooperation of the participating countries against possible imperialist aggression, concerning the defense of the territory and security of the partners to the agreement. Thus, the agreements on friendship, alliance and mutual assistance became the firm legal basis for effective military-political cooperation of the socialist states. The bilateral forms of political cooperation of the socialist countries of Europe were further developed in 1964 in new agreements on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance.

The beginning of the third, qualitatively higher phase must be dated from the mid-1950s, when the relations of the socialist states in the sphere of military-political cooperation received a multilateral basis with the signing of the Warsaw Pact.

As is well known, the Warsaw Pact was concluded in 1955 in response to the military preparations of the imperialist powers. As a result of their aggressive policy, the international situation became sharply aggravated during this period, a number of military blocs were created which were

directed against the USSR and the other socialist countries. It was the historic duty of the socialist states to oppose the imperialist aggression with their coordinated efforts in regard to the defense of the achievements of socialism.

The organization of the Warsaw Pact, which united in a single alliance the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the USSR, and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, is the main political organization of the socialist commonwealth, being at the same time a voluntary defensive alliance of the socialist states, concluded on the principles of the complete equality of its members.

The participation in this alliance presupposes the commitment of the countries entering into it to take the agreed-upon measures that are necessary for the strengthening of their defense capacity so as to guard the peaceful work of nations, guarantee the inviolability of the borders and territory, and to provide for defense against possible aggression, as well as to cooperate in all international actions taken to secure international peace and security.

Article 8 of the Warsaw Pact envisages the necessity of the further development and strengthening of the economic and cultural relations of the contracting parties. This article serves as the legal basis for the broad economic and cultural cooperation of the socialist states--which promotes the strengthening of their political unity. The development of economic and cultural relations of countries participating in the Warsaw Pact fully corresponds to the United Nations Statute (Paragraph 3, Article 1), which obligates members of the United Nations "to bring about international cooperation in the solution of international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character and in the encouragement and development of respect for the rights of the individual and the basic freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language and religion."

The goals of the Organization of the Warsaw Pact thus add up not only to the development of the military, defense alliance of the socialist states. Among the tasks of the Organization are also the development of the economic and cultural relations of the participating states and the broad peaceful cooperation with all states. The socialist countries and members of the Warsaw Pact subject all of their activity to the achievement of the main goal: the normalization of the international situation and the creation of an all-European system of collective security.

The participant countries of the Warsaw Pact constantly come forward with proposals directed toward the relaxation of international tension, the peaceful solution of controversial issues. To the states of the Warsaw Pact belongs the initiative of the advancement of a detailed program for the creation of a system of collective security in Europe, based on the

participation in it of all European states, regardless of their social and state order. Thus, already at the first session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in Prague in January 1956, the participant-states made a statement concerning the necessity of the creation of an all-European system of collective security, which would replace the military groupings existing in Europe.

The principal position of the countries of the socialist commonwealth with regard to questions of guaranteeing all-European security found its further development in the decisions of the Bucharest (July 1966) and Budapest (March 1969) sessions of the Political Consultative Committee (PKK). Side by side with the struggle for the convocation of an all-European conference, the socialist countries showed initiative in the solution of a number of urgent problems of European politics, including the problem of West Berlin, the normalization of relations between the USSR, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany on the basis of the recognition by the latter of the real situation in Europe.

A broad program of measures aimed at the establishment of a durable peace among nations was brought forth by the countries participating in the Warsaw Pact at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Moscow in November 1978. This program, in particular, contains the proposal concerning the conclusion of a World-wide Agreement on the Non-Application of Force in International Relations, which would provide for the obligation on the part of all states to renounce the use of force or the threat of force in all of its forms and manifestations, including the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

The participants in the Moscow session of the Political Consultative Committee took a position against the building up of troops and weapons on the territories of other countries, for the strengthening of the guarantee of the security of the non-nuclear states, for the conclusion of an agreement on the reduction of armed forces and weapons, for the liquidation of military bases on foreign territories and the withdrawal of foreign troops from other states, for the creation of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace in different regions, including Europe. The participants of the meeting again confirmed their readiness to dismantle the Warsaw Treaty Organization simultaneously with the dismantling of the North Atlantic Treaty and, as a first step, to liquidate the military organizations, beginning with the mutual reduction of military activity.³

Practical paths toward an agreement on the proposed measures of military detente were set forth at the session of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the participant states of the Warsaw Pact, which took place in December of 1979 in Berlin.

It is perfectly evident that the proposals of the states of the socialist

commonwealth, which have constantly supported their actual realization with practical deeds, have as their main goal the normalization of the international situation, the strengthening of trust among nations, the guarantee of the stability of the principle of the sovereign equality of all states--large and small.

The activity of the organs of the defensive Warsaw Pact guarantees the complete equality of rights and the observance of the sovereignty of all of its participants, the non-interference in the internal affairs of everyone of them. Military forces, whose distribution and quantity are determined by appropriate agreements, are put at the disposal of the Unified Command and its Staff by the countries participating in the Warsaw Pact. The communist and workers' parties of the Warsaw Pact participant countries show constant concern for their national armies and the Joint Armed Forces, whose composition includes land forces, air forces, air defense forces, and in the maritime countries--naval forces.

The forms and methods of military cooperation of the countries of the socialist commonwealth are constantly being perfected, are becoming more multi-faceted and effective. The armies of the countries participating in the Warsaw Pact have on the whole a uniform organizational structure, combat equipment and armament. The cooperation of the fraternal countries is expressed also in the education of the personnel in the spirit of communist ideology, socialist internationalism, in the use of common methods of troop training.

In contemporary conditions, the development of the states of the socialist commonwealth is experiencing the influence of the objective process of the internationalization of economic, political and cultural life, of the rapprochement of their national economies. This process finds its concrete manifestation in socialist economic integration, consciously regulated and implemented by the fraternal parties and the governments of the countries which are members of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance on the basis of a mutually elaborated program.

The objective reason for integration is the intensifying process of the internationalization of production. At the same time, the integration is a result of the definite policy of states and in this sense always has an organizational character. For a correct understanding of the nature of integration processes, the question of the correlation of economics as an objective concept and politics, in which the activity of the state is expressed, is of great significance.

In the correlation of economics and politics lies the essence of the process of integration. The practical processes of economic development exert a determining influence on the political measures of the states. At the same time, the factor of the political influence on the process of such development itself, which is objective in its fundamental principle,

is exceptionally great. This influence is realized, first of all, in the framework of the political cooperation of the integrating states, and, secondly, in the policy of each one of them.

The internationalization of the productive forces of the socialist states by virtue of the operation of the economic laws of socialism can be realized only consciously and systematically, and this signifies the development of socialist economic integration, the content of which consists of the conscious and systematic regulation--by the communist and workers' parties and the governments of the CEMA countries--of the process of the international socialist division of labor, the rapprochement of their economies and the formation of a modern, highly-effective structure of national economies, of the gradual bringing together and equalization of the levels of their economic development, of the formation of deep and stable links in the basic sectors of the economy, science and technology, of the expansion and strengthening of the international market of these countries, of the perfection of market relationships.⁴

The socialization of production, the high rates of the development of the productive forces, and scientific-technical progress lead to the necessity of expanding and deepening the international socialist division of labor, specialization and cooperation of production among the socialist countries and create the conditions for the further development of the process of internationalization.

It is perfectly evident that in itself the strengthening of economic and production interdependence of the socialist states cannot be a threat to their independence as states as long as the principles of the equality of rights is strictly observed. Indeed, if independence is understood to mean the complete isolation of the national economy, carried to autarchy, then such "independence" precisely conceals in itself the source of a possible loss of state independence. In the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution, such reticence is an anachronism and capable of inflicting serious harm on socio-economic development.

The national systems of the national economy increasingly complement each other. And this in its turn requires the formation of definite proportions in the organization of production and consumption on an international scale. The implementation of integration measures is connected, first of all, with the specialization of the economy of every country and the determination of the economic structure of the entire socialist commonwealth. The national national-economic complexes under socialism are formed in conformity with national and international tasks.

An expression of the law-governed process of socialist economic integration was the formation of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid (CEMA), the goal of which is to coordinate the economic cooperation of the socialist countries on the basis of the principle of socialist internationalism,

taking into account their national peculiarities and interests, as well as the common interests of the world system of socialism.

The commonality of the economic life of the socialist states is not a simple aggregate of the national economies, not their sum total, which would preserve all of the characteristics of the individual items, differing from them only quantitatively. The development of the economic commonality of the countries of the socialist commonwealth represents, though a beginning, nevertheless a very important stage in the general process of the formation of the world socialist economy. The essential feature of this stage consists in the fact that the integration of the socialist economy takes place by way of the establishment of a system of economic relations among national economies, which develop on the basis of state independence.

In the current stage, the world socialist economy is being formed on the basis of the state independence of countries, the system of the international organization of socialist production and exchange on planning principles. It constitutes a complex of organically interrelated national socialist economies. Presently the world socialist system is developing as a free association of sovereign countries, which have their own national economy, planned and administered independently within the territorial limits of a given state. The creation of a single world socialist economy is possible only on the basis of the close and systematic economic cooperation of the countries of socialism, their specialization, the cooperation and gradual integration of their national economies, with complete freedom in the selection of the forms, methods and determination of the stages of the development of cooperation.

Economic integration allows the socialist countries to develop those branches of the economy for the growth of which favorable economic and natural conditions are present. In the process of the economic cooperation of the CEMA countries, such important problems as the development and strengthening of the fuel-energy base of these countries, the unification of the energy systems, the provision of the metallurgical industry with raw materials, and others are also resolved. Specialization and cooperation have been conducive to the growth of the serial production of machines and equipment and the increase of the proportion of this production in reciprocal deliveries, the development of the chemical industry in individual countries, the solution of a number of problems of the development of light and food sectors of industry, agriculture, transportation, and so on.

Only the socialist order allows the harmonious combination of interests of the development of the national economies with the economic rapprochement of the countries. The development and strengthening of individual socialist country are a decisive condition for the advancement of the world system of socialism. In its turn, the comprehensive cooperation and mutual assistance among the socialist countries is conducive to the

successful development of the national economy of these countries. The close coordination of the national-economic plans of the socialist states on a bilateral and multilateral basis, the agreements on the specialization and cooperation of production, longterm agreements and agreements on reciprocal commodity exchange, the creation of joint enterprises, banks and other forms of economic cooperation are connected with the acceptance of certain obligations on the part of the participating states.

However, within the limits of such cooperation, there is no limitation of the sovereignty and national independence of the participating countries. Every state voluntarily and independently determines the limits of its cooperation and participation in the agreed-upon actions, i. e., actions are the manifestation of the sovereign will of an independent socialist state, a will which is directed toward the strengthening and development of the socialist order. In this sense, the national economic, social and political interests fully coincide with the international interests of the CEMA countries.

The economic cooperation of the socialist countries is an inter-state development. Realizing their state sovereignty, the principle of equality, their monopolistic right to establish foreign economic relations of one kind or another, the CEMA countries consciously and systematically joined and continue to join their economic potentials.

In this connection, the Leninist proposition concerning the fact that politics cannot but have superiority over economics acquires special significance, bearing in mind the enormous force of the influence of politics, state authority, all of its levers and mechanisms on the processes which lie at the basis of socialist integration and actively condition it. New levels of economic development, the intensification of specialization and cooperation of the production of the socialist countries also call forth corresponding progressive changes in the sphere of politics, pose in a new way a number of problems connected with the further development of their state sovereignty. From this, however, it does not follow that what is taking place at the present time is political integration which is accompanied by the erosion of the political structures of the socialist states being integrated, by the loss of fundamental elements of national independence, by the replacement of the organs of the individual states by supra-national organs exercising corresponding directive functions, and so on.

Respect for the sovereignty of the countries taking part in the integration constitutes one of the most important political-legal peculiarities of socialist economic integration, distinguishing it from capitalist integration. Socialist economic integration develops in conformity with the principles of socialist internationalism, on the basis of respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests, non-interference in the internal affairs of the countries, complete equality, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance. As is shown in the Overall

Plan, socialist economic integration is realized on the basis of the complete voluntariness and is not accompanied by the creation of supra-national organs.

Socialist economic integration is directed toward the strengthening of the sovereignty of the CEMA countries and creates the necessary objective conditions and guarantees for their sovereign equality. The Statute of CEMA (paragraph 2, article 1) contains the following basic principle: "The Council of Mutual Economic Aid is based on the principles of the sovereign equality of all member countries of the Council. The economic and scientific-technical cooperation of the member countries of the Council is realized in conformity with the principles of the full equality of rights, respect for the sovereignty and national interests, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance".²

The consistent observance of the principle of the sovereign equality of the CEMA members is guaranteed by their equal representation in the organs of the Council, by the concession of equal rights to them and by the imposition of equal obligations on them. The sovereignty and independence of the CEMA countries, the equality in relations are also guaranteed by the principles of the mutual advantage of their economic cooperation and comradely mutual assistance. Here any kind of one-sided advantages and privileges are inadmissible. Thus, every one of the CEMA countries is guaranteed equal compensation for production delivered by it on the basis of bilateral or multilateral agreements. Comradely mutual assistance in the sphere of economic and scientific-technical cooperation also serves as a reliable guarantee of the national independence and sovereignty of socialist states.

In accordance with the CEMA Statute (paragraph 3, article IV), all recommendations and decisions of the Council are taken only with the agreement of the interested member countries. Every country has the right to declare its interest in any question being examined in the Council. Of the greatest significance in this respect is the principle of unanimity of the interested countries. Being a guarantee of the equality of the CEMA countries, this principle contributes to the acceptance of agreed-upon decisions on a basis which completely excludes the infringement of their rights and interests. The CEMA Statute, which limits only by the interested states the circle of countries on whose unanimity the acceptance of recommendations and decisions depends, not only excludes the possibility of the adoption of recommendations and decisions contradicting the interests of these states, but gives a "veto" right only to those which, by virtue of their actual interest, must objectively search for and obtain mutually acceptable decisions. Recommendations and decisions adopted by CEMA are not extended to non-interested countries. At the same time, every CEMA country may subsequently join in the recommendations and decisions, in the adoption of which it earlier did not take part.

The decisions of the CEMA organs have the legal form of recommendations

and decisions. Recommendation is an act which does not have obligatory force from the very beginning, but only contains the desire of the CEMA countries to act in a certain way.⁶ Since the recommendations are addressed to the member states, they are obliged to review it and inform the Council of the results of the review within a period of 60 days from the date of adoption. A recommendation acquires a legally binding character for the SEMA countries only after its adoption in a given country. From this moment, CEMA and the country which has accepted the recommendation acquire certain concrete rights and bear certain obligations. A country implements the realization of CEMA recommendations in accordance with its internal legislation through authorized competent organs. Thus, the very procedure of the adoption of the recommendations guarantees the freedom of the sovereign will of the member countries and guarantees the non-interference of international organs in the internal affairs of these countries. It is important to note, moreover, that in accordance with the CEMA Statute recommendations are adopted with regard to all questions of economic and scientific-technical cooperation of the fraternal countries.

It is important in principle that a CEMA recommendation, being an act whose execution is entirely based on the voluntary agreement of the CEMA countries, serves as the legal basis for the establishment of an international agreement. If CEMA adopted not recommendations, but acts possessing the force of a binding decision, they could not be a legal basis for such agreements. International agreements are the result of the agreement of the sovereign will of individual states. For this reason, in and of itself the fact of the presence of an international agreement, concluded on the basis of voluntariness and equality, is convincing evidence of the high respect for the sovereignty of the participating countries of such an international agreement. In its turn, the fact that the basic act of the Council is the recommendation confirms that CEMA is not a supra-national organ.

The principle of the sovereign equality of states is placed at the basis of the functioning of the entire CEMA mechanism. In accordance with this, every country is represented in all organs of the Council--in the directing as well as the executive organs; in all organs there is equal representation (one representative each) by countries regardless of the size of their territory, economic potential, financing of organizations and other conditions; every country has only one vote in all organs; not a single state has any preference in questions emanating from the activity of the organization.

Implementing the policy of the development of socialist integration, the CEMA countries do not aspire to the creation of a secluded economic grouping. In the implementation of the Overall Program, any country that is not a member of CEMA may participate in full or in part. The stated situation corresponds to the foreign policy of peaceful coexistence carried out by the CEMA countries. In the interests of peace and social progress, the states of the socialist commonwealth will in the future,

too, develop economic and scientific-technical relations with other countries, regardless of their social and state order, on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual advantage and the observance of sovereignty.

And thus we emphasize once more that the development and perfection of the cooperation of the countries of the socialist commonwealth is realized in strict conformity with the principles of socialist internationalism, on the basis of the respect and absolute observance of sovereignty, independence and national interests, complete equality and comradely mutual assistance. Historical experience has fully confirmed the vital force of these Marxist-Leninist principles of inter-state relations of a new type, which fully meet the objective requirements of the time and emanate from the conditions of socialist construction in every country and the development of the socialist commonwealth as a whole.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 7, p 325.
2. "Materialy XXV s"ezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p 7.
3. "Soveshchaniye Politicheskoy Konsul'tativnogo Komiteta gosudarstv--uchastnikov Varshavskogo Dogovora (Moskva, 22-23 noyabrya 1978)" [Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Participating States of the Warsaw Pact (Moscow, 22-23 November 1978), Moscow, 1978, pp 17-18.
4. See "Kompleksnaya programma dal'neyshego uglubleniya i sovershenstvovaniya sotrudnichestva i razvitiya sotsialisticheskoy integratsii stran-chlenov SEV" [The Overall Program of the Further Intensification and Perfection of Cooperation and Development of Socialist Integration of the CEMA Member Countries], Moscow, 1972, p 7.
5. "Mnogostoronnee sotrudnichestvo sotsialisticheskikh gosudarstv" [Multilateral Cooperation of Socialist States], Moscow, 1972, p 123.
6. Decisions which have a binding character for the member countries are adopted by CEMA organs on organizational and procedural questions.

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INTERNATIONAL

IMEMO SESSION DEVOTED TO VARGA

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 1, Jan 80 signed to press 14 Jan 80 pp 122-136

[Article: "The Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of E. S. Varga"]

[Text] A scientific session dedicated to the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Academician E. S. Varga was held at the Institute of World Economics and International Relations (IMEMO) of the USSR Academy of Sciences on 1-2 November 1979. It was arranged by IMEMO and the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society.

The opening address was delivered by Academician P. N. Fedoseyev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society. He noted that the name of E. Varga is linked with a large stage in the development of Soviet economic science. The best people of our century have been led by various paths into the communist camp. During his student years, E. Varga became a propagandist of Marxist principles and joined the left, revolutionary wing of the social democracy of Austria-Hungary and Germany. He fervently welcomed the Great October Socialist Revolution and was one of the founders of the Communist Party of Hungary.

E. Varga took an active part in the struggle to establish the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919 and was a member of its government. He emigrated to the Soviet Union following the defeat of the Hungarian Republic and joined the ranks of the Bolshevik party in 1920. As a true revolutionary-internationalist, Varga saw in the Soviet Union, which became his second homeland, and in Lenin's party the avant-garde of the world revolutionary movement.

E. Varga was active in the Communist International from the first years of its existence. He met and corresponded with V. I. Lenin and performed a number of assignments for Lenin. He was a delegate to the fourth, fifth and sixth congresses of the Komintern and took part in the Executive Committee plenums.

Varga headed the Institute of World Economy and World Politics of the USSR Academy of Sciences for two decades, from 1927 until it merged with the Institute of Economics in 1947. He subsequently did a great deal to help organize the new institute, the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, and, when the latter was created in 1956, he took an active part in its work. Despite his extreme age, he worked on a number of subjects to the very end of his life and was published in the magazine *MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA*.

As academician-secretary of the Economics Division and member of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, E. Varga was an active participant in the discussion of scientific issues not only in the area of the social sciences but of the natural sciences as well, demonstrating a range of views and an ability to get to the essence of issues which would have appeared to be far removed from his field of specialization.

E. Varga's scientific creativity was imbued with a spirit of revolutionary Marxism. He thought of his work strictly as a struggle to implement the party's general line, to fulfill its decisions and directives, as active propaganda of the concepts of scientific communism.

One of the most characteristic features of E. Varga's creativity was a constant search for something new. This feature will be described in the course of this scientific session, the agenda of which includes a number of reports on current problems of contemporary capitalism. The research performed by E. Varga on the economic role of the bourgeois state is a typical example.

E. Varga demonstrated in his works the fact that the increase in the role of the bourgeois state is a result not just of those special functions which it has performed in time of wars, but of the entire contemporary historical situation, of the role which the monopolistic bourgeoisie relegates to the state in the struggle against world socialism, against the forces of national liberation. In his studies in this area, Varga stressed the fact that the state's increased role is introducing many new elements into the specific manifestations of the general laws of capitalism (the laws of value and surplus value and the law of uneven development) but cannot nullify them. The analysis of this issue contained in E. Varga's works is especially valid today, when, in a situation of intensification of capitalism's general crisis, the conflict between the rapidly increasing need for state control of the economy and its limitations created by the domination of private ownership of the means of production has become one of capitalism's main conflicts.

Academician N. Inozentsev, IMEMO director, delivered a report on academician E. Varga's creative legacy and the tasks of the scientist-internationalists. The name Varga, he said, is linked with an important stage in the development of Soviet social science: He was there at the beginning of the Marxist-Leninist study of problems of world economics and international relations in our nation.

Sitting in the auditorium today are comrades who knew Yevgeniy Samuilovich personally, who worked with him and under his supervision. We retain his image in our memory, the image of a charming individual, a great scholar, a great worker for science, a man of profound and original thought, capable of standing up for his point of view. He literally could not live a day without working, without involvement, without information. His great scientific prestige was based on profound knowledge, integrity and the foundation of principle underlying his positions.

Varga's personality as a scientist and a man cannot be separated from his public and political work. He was distinguished by a profound belief in communist ideals: All of his work was imbued with principles of party mindedness and relentless struggle against the enemies of communism, against the opponents of Marxism-Leninism. This struggle permeated his entire life--from his work within the Austro-Hungarian and German social democracy on the eve of World War I, from the heroic saga of the Hungarian Soviet Revolution in 1919, to his research work of the 1960's, written by a man who was already past 80 years of age. As he dealt with the most complex theoretical issues, Varga always kept the interests of the working class in mind and thought about the development of the correct strategy and tactics for its struggle.

Varga was a steadfast supporter of Lenin in all debates during the life of the founder of our party and state and consistently defended Lenin's positions on issues after his death in the debates with the Trotskyites, the right-wing opportunists and other ideological and political enemies. E. Varga's main scientific works are included in a three-volume edition of selected works. A team of IMEMO workers headed by the now-departed V. Aboltin put a great deal of work into these books.

E. Varga's main merits in the scientific field are a result of the fact that he was capable of organically combining economic analysis with the study of the political conditions underlying the development of capitalism and socialism. He was closely acquainted with philosophy and history. Varga's early works were devoted to the theory of money, in which he creatively developed Marxist views. He is the author of one of the first books in the Marxist literature devoted to economic policy during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Varga devoted a great deal of effort to the study of state-monopolistic capitalism and made a large contribution to the study of economic crises and cycles. He was the first to establish in our nation systematic monitoring of the economic situation of the capitalist nations and of market conditions.

I would like to say a few words specifically about Varga's book "Problemy ekonomicheskoy politiki pri proletarskoy diktature" [Problems of Economic Policy Under the Proletarian Dictatorship] (1920), in which the author, one of the leaders of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and its most prominent economic authority, critically discusses the republic's experience and thoroughly analyzes certain causes of its defeat. Varga dedicated his

book to the "memory of the devoted and valorous, noble advanced fighters of the proletariat, who fell after the collapse of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, the victims of white terror."¹

This book attracted the attention of V. I. Lenin, who referred to it in his speech at the second Komintern Congress in connection with the issue of agrarian policy in the situation of socialist revolution. Lenin pointed out the correctness and the importance of the critical (and self-critical) comments made by Varga, who noted that the Hungarian revolution had committed a major error by not satisfying the aspirations of the small-scale peasantry and not distributing among them part of the land taken from the landowners. If this is not done, V. I. Lenin said, "the small-scale peasant will not notice the difference between what was and the Soviet dictatorship. If the proletarian state power does not carry out this policy, it will not be able to endure."²

E. Varga, who lived in the USSR from 1920 and became a member of our party and an active worker in the Komintern, was with full justification considered an important Marxist theoretician in the agrarian issue. He was the main speaker on the agrarian question at the fourth Komintern Congress in 1922. Varga was also a delegate to the fifth and sixth congresses and a participant in plenums of the Komintern Executive Committee, at which he frequently delivered reports.

He felt a profound and organic closeness with Lenin's thinking, which is passed on to us by Klara Tsetkin: "We must appraise the world economy and world politics soberly, absolutely soberly, if we want to conduct the struggle against the bourgeoisie and to be victorious."³

In his scientific works, his journalistic activities and his practical work in the Komintern, E. Varga developed Lenin's theory of capitalism's general crisis, which characterizes the era of the struggle and existence of capitalism and socialism, the era of the revolutionary destruction of the bourgeoisie's domination on a worldwide scale.

During the period of capitalism's partial stabilization in the 1920's, Varga had to conduct the struggle on two fronts: on the one hand, against bourgeois, reformist and revisionist views, according to which capitalism had completely surmounted the difficulties of the wartime and the postwar crisis and had unlimited capabilities for advancement; and on the other, against leftist doctrinaire arguments, which maintained that capitalism had lost all its capabilities for economic growth and was doomed to continuous "stagnation" in the "quagmire" of crisis. Both these views were equally harmful to the communist and workers' movement and produced demoralization and demobilization in the antiimperialist forces. In the campaign against them, Varga defended the correct, Marxist-Leninist interpretation of capitalism's patterns of development in the 20th century.

The communists see imperialism's weaknesses and consider its conflicts, which are growing ever deeper and more severe. At the same time, they do not attempt to pass off the desired as reality and see the possibilities for development which world capitalism still possesses and analyze the factors underlying its viability. They do this for the sake of working successfully for the triumph of socialism, which has logic and the dialectics of history on its side. This position has been thoroughly and creatively developed in materials produced by our party and in its practical work, in the accountability reports made by L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 23d, 24th and 25th congresses, and in documents coming out of the international communist movement of recent decades.

E. Varga accomplished a great deal toward the development of the Marxist theory of crises as applicable to conditions of today. Relying upon this theory, upon Marx's method and upon an in-depth analysis of the actual diversity of reality, Varga predicted the onset of a far-reaching world economic crisis, which actually began in 1929. During the crisis of 1929-1933, he devoted attention not just to the general trends in the world capitalist economy but also to the peculiarities of the crisis in individual nations and branches, to the detailed study of conditions and to the situation in various commodity markets.

In a number of works produced in the 1930's and during World War II, Varga thoroughly analyzed the increased role of the state in the capitalist economy. He demonstrated both state-monopolistic capitalism's capabilities for influencing the cycle and other aspects of development and the basic limitations and inconsistency of this influence.

During the first postwar years Varga initiated the study of the technical and economic advances made in the economically developed capitalist nations, and during the subsequent period he devoted a great deal of attention to analyzing the scientific and technological revolution occurring in the modern world. The study of these problems is of prime practical importance from the standpoint of the development of our economy and the creation of the materials and equipment base for communism.

Varga's last book, "Ocherki po problemam politekonomii kapitalizma" [Essays on Problems of Capitalism's Political Economy], aroused considerable interest in our nation and abroad. It formulates and discusses the basic aspects of modern capitalism: the role of the state and state-monopolistic capitalism, new forms of interimperialism conflicts, the role of the bourgeoisie in the national liberation movement, the situation and the social awareness of the working class, price-setting and profit under the domination of monopolies, cycles and crises, Western European integration, and a number of others. Varga's scientific erudition and perspective were truly enormous.

All his life Varga fought against dogmatism and against quotation mongering. He loved to quote V. I. Lenin's well-known principle that Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action, and he followed this principle in his work. Thoroughly familiar with the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, he never engaged in thoughtless quotation or the mechanical application of specific statements to the new historical circumstances. The revolutionary-dialectical method of Marxism and its vital essence, concrete analysis of the concrete situation, were always the most important to him.

In the foreword to his last book, Varga wrote that he was consciously selecting controversial issues of Marxism, that he wanted to give the readers food for thought, for criticism and debate. He spoke out from a position of party principle and with the severity required in this case against those who "substitute the ready conclusions at which Marx arrived as a result of his studies in the specific historical situation for the Marxist research method." This, he wrote, "is only a step away from fitting the facts to specific Marxist conclusions, from ignoring new facts which do not fit into the pattern, instead of subjecting them to analysis, studying the new facts which do not fit into the pattern and analyzing new developments typical of contemporary capitalism."⁴

Varga was extremely modest, both as a scientist and as a man. He never considered his views to be the ultimate truth and was always ready to consider the criticism of comrades and to accept such criticism if he found it convincing. He loved scientific debate, willingly took part in them and set up many debates himself.

Leadership of the teams of scientific workers and indoctrination of cadres of social scientists occupied an extremely important place in Varga's multifaceted work. He was a prominent organizer behind Soviet science and headed the Institute of World Economy and World Politics for two decades. A highly competent and productive team of scientists was created with his most active participation. Varga knew how to encourage initiative and scientific courage and willingly shared his extensive experience, while at the same time demonstrating great demandingness and striving for the absolute fulfillment of assignments, on time and well.

The Institute of the Red Professoriat of World Economy and World Politics, which functioned in the 1930's, had a considerable role in the training of scientific cadres. For a number of years Varga was academician-secretary of the Division of Economics and Law and a member of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Varga's colleagues and students were the backbone of the team at the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, when it was created in 1956. They, in turn, brought up the next generations of scientists, which are now successfully working at our institute and at

other scientific establishments. Primarily, these are the group of institutes with an international field of specialization under the USSR Academy of Sciences: the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, the Institute of the International Workers' Movement, the United States of America and Canada Institute, the Oriental Studies Institute, the Latin America Institute and the Africa Institute. Recent decades have seen the growth of highly-trained cadres of economists, sociologists, specialists in the political sciences, historians and philosophers, who deal with issues of world economics and politics, international relations and the world revolutionary movement. All of this attests the enormous concern demonstrated by our party's Central Committee, by the Soviet Government and the leadership of the USSR Academy of Sciences for the proper development of scientific studies of an international nature in our nation.

Naturally, the new historical situation, the abrupt change in the balance of power in the world in favor of socialism, the upsurge of the international communist, workers' and national liberation movement, and new developments and processes occurring in the economics, policies and ideology of contemporary capitalism are creating large and difficult tasks for the international researchers. It is a great party duty for the Soviet internationalist-scholars to remain on top of these tasks.

I would like to discuss in somewhat greater detail the work of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations. In recent years the institute has annually published 30 to 40 joint and individual monographs on a broad range of subjects, a monthly magazine, which has earned a good name in our nation and abroad, separate supplements to the magazine, an international economic and political yearbook in Russian and (jointly with our colleagues from the GDR) in German, and a special bulletin. Many of the institute publications have been or are being translated into foreign languages and are published abroad. Institute workers are engaged in a great deal of lecture and propaganda work.

The institute arranges numerous international conferences and meetings and has extensive ties with scientists of socialist, capitalist and developing nations. An international conference of Marxists was held in May 1979, for example, which discussed issues pertaining to the scientific and technological revolution and its social and economic effects in the situation of capitalism.

Taking an overall approach to the more important world development processes and events, the institute has devoted and continues to devote prime attention to the preparation of fundamental works of basic scientific importance. "Politicheskaya ekonomiya sovremennogo monopolisticheskogo kapitalizma" [Political Economics of Contemporary Monopolistic Capitalism], awarded the State Prize of the USSR, occupies a central spot among works of this type produced in recent years.

The Soviet and foreign scientific communities also gave a high rating to the series of books "Mirovoye kapitalisticheskoye khozyaystvo i mezhdunarodnyye ekonomicheskiye otnosheniya" [The World Capitalist Economy and International Economic Relations], "Ekonomika i politika stran sovremennogo kapitalizma" [The Economics and Politics of the Contemporary Capitalist Nations] and "Ekonomika i politika razvivayushchikhaya stran" [The Economics and Politics of the Developing Nations], as well as the collective works "Leninskaya teoriya imperializma i sovremennost'" [The Leninist Theory of Imperialism and the Contemporary Era], "Uglubleniye obshchego krizisa kapitalizma" [The Worsening of Capitalism's Overall Crisis], "Kritika sovremennoy burzhuaiznoy politekonomii" [A Critique of the Contemporary Bourgeois Political Economy], "Materializatsiya razryadki: ekonomicheskiye aspekty" [The Materialization of Detente: The Economic Aspects], "Zapadnaya Yevrope v sovremennom mire" [Western Europe in the Modern World], and a number of others.

The extensive theoretical work performed by the institute is inseparably linked to the nation's practical economic and foreign policy life. Among other things, the institute has prepared (and systematically updates) a forecast of the economic development of the capitalist and developing nations to the year 2000. A number of productive situation analyses have been performed on the more severe and urgent economic and political issues, the results of which have been summarized in reports containing practical proposals.

Life does not stand still, however. The processes occurring in the world economy, in international economic and political relations, in the workers' and national liberation movement and in ideology demand unremitting attention and are making it necessary not only to produce a theoretical summarization of the new developments but also to prepare a number of practical recommendations.

I would like to describe a few of the more general thoughts in this area. Unquestionably, as the head institute in the international field, IMEMO must continue to devote prime attention to the development of theoretical problems of capitalism's political economy. Specifically, political economy, meaning by this an extremely broad range not only of economic and scientific and technological relationships, but class, social and political relationships as well, and their multifaceted interrelationships and mutual influence. And, naturally, we also have in mind the analysis of new developments, taking into account without fail the specific historical peculiarities, which greatly predetermine the development of modern capitalism.

These peculiarities are well known. They include the fundamental changes occurring in the balance of power between the two opposite systems; the new strategic military situation in which capitalism, while struggling against world socialism, must at the same time peacefully coexist with it and cooperate with it in a number of matters.

They include capitalism's loss of many of its former rear areas from the disintegration of the colonial system, and the gradually accruing advances in the relations of the developed and the developing nations within the economic system of world capitalism.

They include the scientific and technological revolution, continuing in the modern world, which is producing a profound effect upon the world economy and world economic relations, upon the various aspects of economic life of the capitalist and developing nations and upon the social processes occurring in them.

They include the growing importance of global problems--energy, raw materials, food, demography and ecology, the problem of overcoming the backwardness of the developing nations, and others. Undoubtedly, the various types of structural crises which have become an important distinguishing feature of capitalism in the 1970's will be manifested with even greater force in the next decade.

They include the inevitable further intensification of capitalism's basic inner conflicts and the class struggle in the new situation, as well as interimperialist conflicts.

The above lends prime importance to the need to further study the problems of state-monopolistic capitalism, its effects upon the economy, the cyclical nature of reproduction and the development of inflationary processes in international economic relations. We cannot relax our concern for the study of new forms and features of the state-monopolistic capitalism of various nations and, at the same time, we must step up the study of extra-national forms of state-monopolistic capitalism, which are manifesting themselves, among other ways, in trends toward the further development of economic integration.

I would like to stress the fact that theoretical studies of the basic patterns in the development of capitalism must continue to be most closely combined with the in-depth analysis of current and anticipated advances in its scientific and technological base, with thorough clarification of the basic structural changes occurring in capitalism's economy and with scrupulous consideration of the most important factors determining changes in the labor productivity, the capital-output ratio and the materials-intensiveness of capitalist production.

The institute is faced with the further, thorough elaboration of key problems of international relations. It must be said in all honesty that we have not done everything possible, by far, to convincingly demonstrate the enormous advances occurring in this extremely important area of public life under the influence of world socialism.

We need an in-depth theoretical analysis of the very nature of these relations in the era of transition--I mean by this the era extending from the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution to socialism's triumph on a world scale--, the main objectives of international politics and the changing structure of worldwide political relations. It is enormously important for us to study realistic ways of strengthening international security, restraining the arms race, intensifying the processes of detente and developing interrelationships of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation among states with different social structures.

The institute has been studying and will continue actively to study problems of the Soviet Union's economic ties with the capitalist and developing nations and possible ways of making these ties more effective.

We shall continue to focus attention upon problems of the class struggle and of the contemporary stage of the revolutionary process in the developed capitalist states and the developing nations.

Our experience in the 1970's has confirmed with complete convincings the enormous importance of the communist and workers' movement in the capitalist nations of the developing of its international ties and its solidarity with other states in the revolutionary process; problems of uniting, of allying the leftist forces--communists, social democrats and other democratic organizations and movements; problems of the correlation of the general and the specific in the process of revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism; and problems of the interrelationship between the struggle for peace and the struggle for social progress.

Especially important among this group of problems is that of further analyzing the specific nature of the workers' and democratic alternative to state-monopolistic capitalism in the area of economic and social policy, the political organization of society and the foreign policy line. The development of such an alternative is today one of the main issues of strategy and tactics for the communist parties of the capitalist nations, of their struggle for the establishment of solid antimonopolistic alliances, and it is a matter of honor for the institute to make the greatest contribution it can to the development of this alternative.

The processes of evolution of forms of capitalist exploitation, the capitalist society's political institutions and its system of influencing the masses ideologically require thorough study. The process and the results of the ideological-political struggle in the main capitalist nations and new trends in the social and political awareness of the workers deserve special attention.

One of the institute's main tasks is to thoroughly analyze the new situation in the developing nations, for, after all, this is an area in which more than two-thirds of the planet's inhabitants will be living two decades from now.

The heterogeneity and differentiation within this enormous area, which has now become obvious, means that the time is past when the backward nations can be studied "in general," as a whole. There are other, more complex tasks now. We refer to the selection of a path of development for the 1980's by individual nations and groups of nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America, to the laws involved in the development of national liberation revolutions into socialist revolutions, and to the prospects for a noncapitalistic path of development.

Naturally, economic and foreign policy cooperation between the USSR and the developing nations and the role of the latter within the system of international relations, including the development of the detente process, are extremely important.

Finally, critical analysis of bourgeois and other non-Marxist concepts will continue to be an important area of our work in the future. The intensification of the ideological struggle and the tasks assigned to our foreign policy propaganda system by the party make it necessary for the institute team to prepare works specially devoted to criticism of the more influential trends in bourgeois ideology. Among other things, we must thoroughly analyze and criticize bourgeois theories of state-monopolistic capitalism and their reflection in government and party programs. We are constantly faced with the task of combating anti-Marxist and anticommunist ideology.

In conclusion, permit me to recall V. I. Lenin's words to the effect that the best way for communists to commemorate an anniversary is to focus attention upon uncompleted tasks. I feel that it is especially appropriate to do this as we commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Varga, a communist and scholar, who was never content with past achievements, who always looked ahead, who was always turning his attention to new problems.

Temporary Hungarian charge d'affaires in the Soviet Union (Dyula Piter) commented that Ene Varga had gone a long way, from seasonal farm laborer to scientist, politician and prominent figure in the Hungarian and international workers' movement. He was born on 6 November 1879 in Hungary, in the village of (Nad'teten'). His father was a provincial teacher and was dismissed from his job for punishing a student from a prosperous family. After that, he was unable to find a job as a teacher and was not in a position to provide his children with an education. At the age of 10, Ene, the youngest of eight children, went to work for a rich farmer. He later became a baker. He worked and studied at the same time and with his unparalleled diligence, he earned a degree at the age of 32 as a secondary schoolteacher of geography and history, and began teaching at a higher school of economics in Budapest.

In 1906, E. Varga joined the ranks of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, became a worker for the party and later, editor of the economics section of

the newspaper NEPSZAVA. His first important work, which dealt with Hungarian cartels, appeared in 1912. E. Varga belonged to the revolutionary wing of the party, which was subsequently joined by such prominent fighters of the Hungarian workers' movement as Bela Kun, Tibor Samuelli, Ferenc Munnich and others.

Following the victory of the bourgeois democratic revolution in 1918, Varga, a well-known economist by that time, became an instructor at Budapest University. He wrote and published a large number of articles on unemployment, nationalisation, land reform, taxation and the national problem. In these works, Varga, now a leader in the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, outlined the political and economic program for a left-wing party.

During the existence of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, Varga was a member of the government, people's commissar of finance and then, of public production, and later chairman of the All-Hungarian Council of the National Economy. While he occupied those posts, he directed the economic life of the workers' state and worked out proposals for long-range plans. After the defeat of the revolution in August 1919, Varga was forced to emigrate. In Austria he wrote a book titled "Problemy ekonomicheskoy politiki pri proletarskoy diktature" [Problems of Economic Policy Under a Dictatorship of the Proletariat], which Lenin regarded extremely highly.

After 1920, Varga lived in Soviet Russia, except for a few years, when under an assignment from the Komintern Executive Committee, he directed the Statistical Information Bureau in Berlin. He became a member of the RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)] in 1920 and met Lenin for the first time at the second Komintern Congress.

E. Varga always followed Hungarian events closely and was thoroughly informed about the political and economic life of his homeland. After its liberation, he provided it with invaluable assistance in the development of its first long-range national economic plans. In recognition of his scientific work, Varga was elected an honorary member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1955.

In Hungary we are well aware of E. Varga's rich scientific legacy. We value his theoretical work highly. We take an example from his struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Corresponding Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Falushe Skita Katalin) spoke of E. Varga as a Marxist scholar of world renown. His works are still of great scientific value. His creative method was characterized by what Lenin referred to as the soul of Marxism. Varga always dealt with the facts. He investigated even the most insignificant developments in the capitalist economy with infinite conscientiousness and persistence and constantly compared the theory with the facts. All of this permitted Varga to achieve the masterly application of quantitative analysis to economic processes.

Those who knew Varga personally told how he saved a letter written to him by Lenin as though it were a valuable antique. In the letter, Lenin cautioned about the need for objectivity in Marxist analysis, about never hushing up or ignoring the facts, no matter what they might be. Varga always followed this rule. He kept strictly to the facts, and reality proved him right many times. This was the case, for example, when the world economic crisis predicted by Varga erupted in 1929. It was also the case in 1933, when he predicted the end of the crisis and the transition to a depression.

Varga never proceeded purely on the basis of ready theories, later to support and illustrate them with data specially selected for that purpose. He did not seek examples to prove his premises but conscientiously studied the total aggregate of processes. This is why he was able correctly to feel out patterns and why new trends did not escape his attention.

All of this required scientific courage, of course. And Varga possessed enough of that. He was not only exceptionally talented and industrious, but was also a bold individual, one who was able selflessly to defend new facts. He stood up for the truth all his life, and not just in the area of science.

Varga described his first book "Vengerskie karteli" [The Hungarian Cartels], which immediately gained fame, with great modesty, calling it "the meager result of a great deal of work." Today, as we sum up the results of his scientific work, we can say that enormous results crowned his works. He left a rich legacy to world science and to the world workers' movement.

Doctor of Economic Sciences Ya. Pevzner (Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences) opened the scientific reports at the session with a talk on E. Varga's contribution to the development of political economy. The speaker touched upon several issues which occupied an important place in Varga's research.

Varga made an enormous contribution to the study of the interaction between cost and noncost, economic and noneconomic factors in the capitalist economy, interaction as it developed at various stages of capitalism's overall crisis. He demonstrated the fact that no matter how complex the intermediaries introduced by the innumerable noncost factors, no matter what kinds of deviations there are, capitalism's economy is based on the laws of cost and surplus-value and any sort of scientific analysis of the actual dynamics of capitalist reproduction is impossible without acknowledging this fact.

Varga also demonstrated something else, and thereby performed an invaluable service, the fact that the general principles underlying the basic laws of capitalism only become a tool for learning about economic processes, when they are applied with full consideration of reality in all its diversity.

E. Varga constantly focused the analysis of overall patterns upon clarification of the specific economic and political situation. Many dozens of his works are devoted to the study of possibilities, realities and prospects for the development of revolutionary processes in various nations. Although these works are extremely substantial on the historical-political level, Varga still wrote them primarily as a political economist. Referring to the well-known concepts of the "automatic collapse of capitalism," E. Varga wrote in his book published in 1920: "Marxist doctrine on the inevitable destruction of the capitalist mode of production and the economic basis described for the approach of socialism were incorrectly interpreted to mean that capitalism's destruction can occur automatically, without a revolutionary struggle by the proletariat. This is a fatal error. Marx considered the revolutionary proletariat first among the factors leading to the downfall of capitalism. Production anarchy, crises, falling profits or the impoverishment of the masses, none of these alone would have led to the downfall of the capitalist society. Only an aware, revolutionary struggle by the working class will lead to this."⁵

Varga's works contain an in-depth and extremely productive analysis of such issues of political economy as the exploitation norm and questions pertaining to the absolute and relative impoverishment of the working class; the mutual relationship and the interdependency between the concentration of production and capital and its centralization; changing forms of consolidation of bank and industrial capital; the role of autonomous financing and investment trusts; market volume and the discrepancy between production and consumption in its real materializations, especially in the cycles and in crises; the various aspects of labor productivity, production intensity and efficiency; the nature of money and the role of gold under monopolistic capitalism; the cost nature of services (especially trade); the interaction between capitalist and precapitalist production relations in historical development and under contemporary conditions, and a number of others.

E. Varga expressed his theoretical positions on each of these issues, positions which are still valid today, which stimulate thought and evoke controversy. Not only did Varga resolve complex problems: He also constantly and purposively raised issues for debate, knowing full well that no one is given the last word in science.

Doctor of Economic Sciences Istvan (Mikhailik) of Hungary discussed E. Varga's works which dealt with certain issues of Soviet economy and of socialism's political economy in the 1920's and 1930's. When he arrived in 1920 in Moscow, capital of the nation which became E. Varga's second homeland, he began studying the Soviet national economy and the economic views of that time with great interest and inspiration.

Varga's works deal with the most diverse issues, such issues as planning and accounting, military communism and the *nep* [new economic policy], the socialist restructuring of agriculture, a comparative analysis of socialism and capitalism, foreign trade monopoly, and so forth. Some of the

issues pertained to current problems of economic policy at that time, while others had to do with socialism's developing political economy.

One such problem was national economic planning. Varga studied the work of planning agencies and the practical process of compiling national economic plans. The views presented by Varga in 1920-21 pertained to the practical planning of that period and focused upon overcoming its individual deficiencies.

Numerous works by Varga are devoted to the comparative analysis of socialism and capitalism. He attempted to support the principles advanced in these works with factual data, making use of vast statistical material. He did not limit his research to narrow economic issues, but provided an in-depth political analysis of the development of the two systems. By way of illustration, we could mention several chapters from the book "Kapitalizm i sotsializm za 20 let" [Capitalism and Socialism Over a Period of 20 Years]. They include chapters on the accumulation of capital and socialist accumulation, the development of production forces, industrial production and labor productivity in the capitalist nations and in the Soviet Union; chronic mass unemployment in the capitalist world and full employment of the work force in the USSR; and the devaluation of money in the capitalist nations and the strengthening of Soviet money.

From a comparison of the two social systems in the article "Socialism as Utopia, as a Science and as Reality" published in 1938, E. Varga drew the following conclusion: "Russia's working class began the grand structure of socialism, and it now stands as a beacon, pointing out to the international proletariat and to all working humanity the path which they should follow in order to free themselves once and for all from capitalist bondage, from murderous fascism and imperialist wars, in order to achieve freedom, and happiness for all peoples of the entire world."

The objective of my talk, said corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. Mileykovskiy (IMEMO), is to present certain thoughts on Varga's theoretical opinions on issues pertaining to the analysis of state-monopolistic capitalism. I shall talk about those aspects discussed in his last book, which deals with capitalism's political economy. E. Varga regarded the economic laws of society as dominant trends, which are constantly being disrupted and modified by countertrends. This approach is especially important in situations in which the laws of capitalism are opposed by the laws involved in the development of a communist structure. We still frequently speak of economic laws, however, without taking into account countertrends resisting their realization.

A typical example of this is the simplified interpretation of an absolute, universal law of capitalist accumulation, which ignores its modification resulting from changes in the conditions of the class struggle waged by workers of the developed capitalist nations in the situation of confrontation between the two systems. The resulting underestimation of the forced

concessions and social maneuverings of state-monopolistic capitalism under the onslaught of the workers' movement makes it difficult to explain such developments of the 1960's as the serious crises and the shift to the left by the entire center of political life, which occurred under conditions of a relatively good situation in the developed capitalist nations.

Varga's formulation of the question of the basic economic law of capitalism is of current theoretical and practical importance. He wrote the following: "...No basic economic law is capable of embracing all the processes and circumstances of the given production mode."⁶ Varga noted that Marx never attempted to combine all the laws of capitalism into one general law, although he did call the production of surplus value an absolute law of this production mode. A constructive debate developed among us on the question of a basic economic law, which had to do mainly with the hierarchy of laws, their system and so forth.

Unexplained aspects of state-monopolistic capitalism were the subject of an essay on state-monopolistic capitalism contained in Varga's last book, published in 1964. In the essay he dealt primarily with the question of the internal contradictions of state-monopolistic capitalism. This matter has still not been fully researched. Not just quantitative changes, but qualitative changes as well, are occurring in the contemporary situation. The necessity for these changes is based in the very dialectics of the development of state-monopolistic capitalism, which science has not yet fully clarified, by far. It seems to me, for one thing, that we have still not adequately appraised the increasing role of national institutions of state-monopolistic regulation, regional, at the level of imperialist integration, as well as within the framework of the entire world capitalist economy.

The problem of the uneven development of state-monopolistic capitalism, which became the subject of debate at the beginning of the 1960's, is also still current. Some participants in the debate spoke of a trend toward a curtailment, a reversibility of state-monopolistic capitalism. While devoting proper attention to the existence of such countertrends, which are of a temporary nature, Varga arrived at the conclusion that "in the final analysis the trend toward a buildup of state-monopolistic capitalism is gaining."⁷

This conclusion is still of great importance today. We must not forget the fact that the very development of capitalism's production forces in the situation of the scientific and technological revolution requires increasing state interference in the reproduction process in more and more areas (energy, transport and communications, urban development, environmental protection and basic scientific research). This accounts for the intensification of capitalism's basic inconsistency between the social nature of production and capitalist appropriation and distribution of its results. History has convincingly confirmed Lenin's tenet that from state-monopolistic capitalism it is only possible to advance toward socialism.

Academician Ye. Primakov (director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences) devoted his talk to an analysis of the Leninist law of inequality of economic and political development under capitalism and its effects upon the developing nations.

As V. I. Lenin stressed, the law of inequality constantly accompanies the development of capitalism, becoming greater in its highest and final stage. It determines relationships not only among the main capitalist nations and not only between the capitalist centers, on the one hand, and the capitalist periphery, on the other, but also relationships between the various segments of this periphery.

The essence of the law discovered by V. I. Lenin, naturally, does not consist of a simple statement of the unevenness in the growth of various production facilities, branches of industry and entire nations within the capitalist system, and not even of substantiation of the inevitability, the certainty of this inequality. V. I. Lenin showed that this inevitability, this certainty is reflected in politics and brilliantly revealed the dialectical interrelationship between the inequalities of economic and political development.

Judging from existing forecasts, the effect of the law of uneven development will not produce a drastic reduction in the economic gap between the two groups of states, the developed capitalist states and the developing states. Even the most optimistic forecasts predict that by the year 2000 the gap will be reduced from the present 12-fold to a 7-fold difference, but many experts consider this unrealistic.

Along with the continuing gap between their levels and those of the developed capitalist states, there will be increasing differentiation within the group of liberated nations itself. The inequality of their development has been intensified sharply as a result of capitalism's crises, which encompassed entire areas of the world capitalist economy in the 1970's: raw materials, energy, currency and ecology.

The effect of the law of uneven development extends to the areas of economics, politics and interstate relations of the liberated nations, introducing specific features into processes in progress. It is highly important for all those studying the contemporary problems of the liberated nations to study this effect in depth.

In his analysis of capitalism as it was in his time, Varga devoted a great deal of attention to the effect of the law of uneven development, discovered and substantiated by V. I. Lenin. The objective reality of those years in which Varga lived and worked contributed to the fact that he and other scholars limited their consideration of the effect of this law to the developed capitalist world. This is no longer adequate, however. It is enormously important to study the effect of the law of uneven development upon such phenomena as the increasing differentiation among the

developing nations and the possibility that some of them will join the group of developed capitalist nations; the intensification of economic, social and political problems of the least developed group of liberated nations; the possibility of victory for the socialist revolution in certain liberated nations and their inclusion into the world socialist system; the possibility of victory for national democratic revolutions in certain nations, clearing the way for a socialist orientation; the functioning of a mixed economy; the creation of sub-imperialist centers in the developing world; and the deepening of conflicts both between the developing states and the developed capitalist states and among the developing nations themselves, and the manifestation of these conflicts in new forms. Without such studies it is impossible to perform a serious analysis of the aggregate of reasons for the zigzagging and ambiguity of development of the liberated states or to analyze the very nature of this development.

In his discussion of current problems of Africa's economic development, Doctor of Historical Sciences Anatoliy Gromyko, director of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, noted that Varga's works, and especially his last big book "Ocherki po problemam politekonomii kapitalizma" [Essays on Problems of Capitalism's Political Economy], contained many important tenets of a theoretical and practical nature, pertaining to young states which have thrown off the yoke of colonialism, on the role of the bourgeoisie in the national liberation movement, its dual nature, its non-homogeneous composition and its specific anti-imperialist potential, the possibility of progressive military coups in the liberated nations, and so forth.

Varga used the example of Indonesia, India and the Belgian Congo to study the problems of developing nations, and appraised events in South Africa. A number of theoretical generalizations produced by Varga are still of great interest for Soviet Africa experts. These pertain primarily to the development of the liberated nations' economy.

In his book "Kapitalizm XX veka" [Capitalism in the 20th Century] published in 1961, for example, he wrote the following: "The political liberation of the colonies is not the same as elimination of the colonial nature of their economy." This tenet has been confirmed by practical reality.

Africa continues to be a supplier of mineral and other kinds of agricultural raw materials and buys finished manufactured goods and, in ever increasing amounts, food. Since the African continent is a participant in international division of labor in precisely this capacity, its economy remains dependent and vulnerable to price fluctuations on the world market, and absolute scales of exploitation of Africa's natural and human resources by imperialism are growing.

Africa's development within the framework of the world capitalist economy is extending the gap between it and the industrialized capitalist nations

and altering the forms of its dependence upon the main capitalist centers. This has resulted in a rapid increase in the foreign indebtedness of the African nations and growing inflation and to an increase in food imports. The nature of the African nations' relations with the imperialist states remains unequal, and the struggle to eliminate this inequality is presently the main economic task of the nations on that continent.

Resolution of the problem of Africa's centuries-old backwardness and the achievement of social progress are only possible, in the final analysis, along a path of socialist reorganization. The fact should be stressed that Varga also raised the question of paths of development for nations liberated from colonialism in his last works. He wrote: "Nations liberated from colonialism have... a choice--a choice between the capitalist and socialist paths of development. The question of which path will be taken by the poorly developed nations of the capitalist world (the nations of Latin America, the former colonies in Asia, which have already become sovereign states, and African nations now in the process of being liberated from the political power of the imperialists)...--this question has become one of the most important questions in the struggle between the two world systems."⁸

E. Varga's legacy and the peculiarities of the revolutionary process in the developing nations of Asia and Africa were the subject of an address by Doctor of Historical Sciences G. Mirskiy (IMEMO). Although not a specialist in problems of the national liberation movement, E. Varga nonetheless attached great importance to them, recognizing the role of the liberated colonial world in modern development. He gave a great deal of thought to the subject of what direction this enormous group would take following the downfall of the colonial system and expressed various assumptions.

Many things are clearer now. It was a mistake to believe that political development in the new national states would be determined by the class struggle, which was conceived as a struggle on the European model: class against class, the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. We now see that there is no "pure," clear-cut class struggle almost nowhere in Asia or Africa and that there are essentially no political parties (except for the communist parties) formed strictly according to class.

The weakness of both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat--a product of the economic backwardness resulting from colonial exploitation--is hindering the emergence of a solid and adequate social base for bourgeois or proletarian political movements and parties. Capitalism in the developing world is, in most cases, not "real" capitalism, not full-fledged capitalism, but a weakly developed, dependent capitalism of neo-compradors, speculators, brokers, real estate traders and dealers from the services sphere, the corrupted (korrumpirovannaya) bureaucracy and the military.

And a socialist orientation, in turn, is not necessarily the way to build socialism: it may "become stuck" at a intermediate stage and become transformed into a special type of state-capitalistic, bourgeois-bureaucratic structure. The weakness of private-management capitalism does not at all mean that all the ways of implanting bourgeois social relations have been entirely covered. We must not forget the fact that the developing nations are "stewing in the capitalist pot," even if that pot is an external and not an internal one. After all, as the CPSU Program points out, they are a part of the system of the world capitalist economy.

The development of those nations is not determined by economic factors alone, by far, however. Varga wrote: "We cannot correctly understand the political actions of certain segments of the colonial population without taking into account historical, national, cultural and moral factors, in addition to economic interests, as Marx always did."⁹ With respect to this, it can be maintained that most developing nations today still do not have adequate preconditions either for developed capitalism or for true socialism. The nationalistic and religious consciousness most frequently prevails over the class awareness. This was clearly demonstrated by the revolution in Iran.

Our discussion of Varga's legacy as applicable to Eastern problems should cover one more point. I refer to the Asiatic production mode. Varga reminded us that in the thinking of Marx the nature of the Asiatic production mode differed fundamentally from the feudal mode. One might ask just how valid this problem is today and whether it is so important to ascertain precisely what existed centuries ago in Asia—feudalism or something else? Yes, it is valid and of considerable importance, when we analyze the reasons behind that unprecedented buildup of the state's role, which we see in the developing nations today. Naturally, this development is based on economic factors. However, we must also not underestimate the role of those "historical, national, cultural and moral factors" about which Varga wrote.

As we return again and again to E. Varga's works, we can see what a major contribution that outstanding scholar made to the study of problems related to the national liberation movement. By developing and adding to those thoughts expressed long ago by him, we can understand a great deal in the maelstrom of events characterizing the current stage of development of the Asian and African nations.

Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Vol'skiy (director of the Latin America Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences) devoted his address to problems of Latin America today. He pointed out that E. Varga's works reveal the dialectical interrelationship between the weakening of the capitalist system as a whole, as a result of capitalism's overall crisis and the accelerated growth of capitalism in nations poorly developed economically. This interrelationship has been clearly manifested during periods of the most powerful upheavals of world capitalism (during the world crisis of 1929-1933 and World War II, for example).

- To a considerable degree the postwar activities of the international monopolies and their branches in the Latin American nations promoted their integration into the world capitalist system. As a result, the Latin American states began experiencing all of world capitalism's upheavals especially acutely. The crisis of 1974-1975, for example, led to an extremely substantial curtailment of production in those nations.

The international monopolies have changed from an external economic factor into an element of the internal economic structure. The process of industrialization occurring in those nations is controlled almost entirely by them. The development of dependent capitalism in Latin America is practically depriving it of the possibility of influencing the acceleration of progress and is creating enormous obstacles to the gaining of real independence by the nations of that continent. All of this is leading many Latin American states toward the alternative of socialism. Among the preconditions for this alternative are the growth of organization and ideological maturity in the workers' movement and its merging with the anticolonialist liberation struggle.

The issues of capitalist reproduction, crises and cycles were the subject of an address by Doctor of Economic Sciences R. Entov. The problems of economic crises and cycles were always at the center of E. Varga's attention. He wrote Marxist literature's first fundamental monograph on the history of world economic crises and published a number of current theoretical analyses of the specific nature of the crises of overproduction, which erupted in the situation of capitalism's overall crisis. Varga's work "Sovremennyy kapitalizm i ekonomicheskiye krizisy" [Contemporary Capitalism and Economic Crises], published in 1962, was a part of a series of research works awarded the Lenin Prize.

Certain new features have been detected in the development of the world capitalist cycle over the past decade. The cyclical crises are becoming more and more closely interwoven with important upheavals in the entire system of the world capitalist economy. Studies of economic crises and cycles are bringing out a number of new problems: We must analyze more thoroughly the question of interaction between the relative "under-accumulation" in individual branches and the under-production of goods, on the one hand, and the relative over-accumulation of capital and over-production of goods being revealed in the course of the cyclical crisis, on the other.¹⁰

The question of the degree of coincidence in the action of indicators characterizing actual scales of production, capital investments, commodity circulation, and so forth, is a complex one, a matter unquestionably requiring further study.

Among the new circumstances in the development of the capitalist cycle, attention is drawn to the simultaneous growth of inflation and unemployment.

Significant changes in the overall functional mechanism of money-exchange relationships lie behind these processes, which have been named "stagflation" in Western literature. They are a product of the intensifying conflict between highly-developed, state-monopolistic control, on the one hand, and the basis for this control, the system of commercial-capitalistic relationships and the action of competitive market forces, which cannot be eliminated, on the other.

The question of the contemporary economic mechanisms involved in the "linkage" and the interaction of national cycles is an especially important one. These are comprehensive problems and their further study calls for joint efforts by the broad range of economists studying the various aspects of development of the world capitalist economy. At the same time, such an analysis requires the accurate isolation of key problems, which have still not been satisfactorily resolved in our literature. In connection with this, I would like to mention once again that remarkable quality of E. Varga, his ability to isolate the most complex and important theoretical problems demanding priority. In the conclusion of one of the sections in his last book, Varga wrote: "We pose these questions, although we cannot provide satisfactory answers to them. They offer great scope for investigation by the Marxists...."¹¹

Foreign economic ties and capitalist reproduction were the subject of a talk by Doctor of Economic Sciences M. Maksimova (IMEMO). One of the strong points of Marxist-researcher E. Varga, Maksimova said, was the special attention he devoted to the world capitalist economy. It can be stated without exaggeration that Varga was able to reveal and substantiate specific features of the world economic crisis of the 1930's because he analyzed not only capitalist production and accumulation in the main imperialist nations, but also world trade and world prices, the state of the balance of payments and the exports of capitalist countries (kapitali), the situation in the colonial nations and the foreign economic role of the bourgeois state. This approach was not simply a demonstration of the author's broad views and extensive erudition. First and foremost, it is one of the basic Marxist principles and research methods. It was followed by E. Varga, and this made it possible for these scientists to make a number of important theoretical observations and conclusions, the correctness of which has been confirmed by the entire subsequent course of capitalism's development.

In the years which have passed since E. Varga's death, Soviet economic science has been enriched with important studies of world trade, the activities of the trans-national corporations, economic integration and relationships between the various groups of states. Foreign economic ties have become one of the important factors affecting the course of capitalist reproduction, its basic proportions. What is the scope and the nature of this influence? What is the nature of the mechanism of interaction between internal and external factors in the development of capitalist production in the contemporary situation?

Before there is an answer to these questions, we will have to develop a Marxist methodology for appraising the effect of the foreign economic sphere of capitalism upon a state's domestic economy. This is not a simple task. Ordinarily, a description of the role of foreign economic ties is limited to the index for the proportion of commodity exports in the gross national product, which increased from 7 percent in 1950 to 22 percent in 1978 for the developed capitalist nations. This is only one indicator of the degree to which the nations have entered into the international division of labor, however. The foreign economic sector consists of the aggregate of international ties for the most important components of capitalist reproduction--production capital, quantity of goods and services, scientific information, work force and credit and monetary flows. We must continue our search for criteria, in order to reflect these extremely important dependencies adequately and completely.

Another problem is that of ascertaining the long-range effect of world economic ties upon the basic variables of capitalist production (growth rates, the branch structure, the technological level and labor productivity). Each type of these ties affects the reproduction processes. The degree and the nature of this influence may differ greatly, depending upon the specific conditions of a particular nation.

There appear to be two main ways in which international ties affect the domestic capitalist economy on a long-term basis, and correspondingly, two different results. The first involves the stimulation of economic growth, progressive structural advances and the effectiveness of capitalist production. The second involves the retardation of individual areas of the capitalist economy, the generation of long-term, negative effects, and the intensification of capitalism's conflicts. In reality there is a complex interweaving of the stimulating and the negative effects. On the whole, foreign economic ties function as one of the long-term factors accelerating economic development and increasing production effectiveness. However, this trend is making its way over the deep obstacles and conflicts created by capitalism, by its specific features at the contemporary stage.

It would be difficult to agree with the opinion that foreign economic ties perform only the function of synchronizing the cyclical development of the main capitalist nations. In reality, it is a much more complicated matter. An analysis shows that each of the types of ties--foreign trade, the movement of capital, scientific information and the work force--have a different and sometimes a directly opposite effect upon capitalist production in various phases of the cycle. We must therefore perform some in-depth studies, which will make it possible to reveal the cumulative effect of the foreign economic sector upon the cycles and crises and upon the specific nature of their development in the various capitalist nations.

Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Shenayev discussed certain aspects of the theory of money. He noted that questions pertaining to the essence of money occupied one of the most important spots in E. Varga's scientific creativity. In Varga's opinion, by the eve of World War I the monopolistic stage of capitalism had already introduced new elements in the functioning of money, into its role of a universal exchange even with the gold standard. In his last work, completed in 1963 (a year prior to his death), Varga confirmed this idea, now for the conditions of state-monopolistic capitalism.

The loss of gold's monetary functions at the monopolistic stage has been an objective and natural process. It is a lengthy process, however, and it occurs at the national level in the beginning and then on the international level, where world currency functioned.

After World War II the capitalist nations were not able to restore the gold standard in domestic monetary circulation. On the international level, however, they legalized the gold-dollar standard, and consequently, the conditions were retained for gold to function as world currency.

The Bretton-Wood capitalist currency system fell completely apart at the beginning of the 1970's, however. The gold-dollar standard in international relations went out of existence along with it. In the new, Jamaica currency system, which went into effect in April 1978, the capitalist world was forced to register the actual loss of gold's function as a world currency. The development of state-monopolistic capitalism is leading to the collapse of the gold standard in all its forms and to the advancement of credit currency as the main type of currency. These changes in the role of specific types of currency were studied by the Marxist-scientists, Varga among them, from the beginning of capitalism's overall crisis.

While properly stressing the fact that credit currency was becoming the main type of currency under state-monopolistic capitalism, Varga's works did not delve deeply into the question of just what modern credit currency is. With gold's loss of its monetary functions, this is becoming the main issue in the theory of money. The departure of gold from monetary circulation does not mean that money is losing its commercial nature or that the universal exchange is disappearing. It means only that one of the forms of monetary commodity is gone.

Gold's loss of its role as a world currency dealt a blow against imperialism, also due in part to the fact that the monetary crisis had been exacerbated and that capitalism's interimperialist conflicts and instability had intensified. While the Bretton-Wood international agreements were in effect the dollar was, of course, officially equated to gold. As a result, the United States was able for a certain length of time to place its national currency above other monetary units. Gold's departure from international accounts knocked the foundation from under the dollar and brought it into a crisis.

There was a reason why the United States did everything in its power, right up to the 1970's, to retain gold, at least partially, as a world currency. It managed to have central banks forbidden to buy and sell the yellow metal on the free market. Pressured by objective circumstances, however, the United States and other capitalist states were forced to recognize the unrealistic nature of their actions aimed at retaining monetary functions for gold.

The changes occurring in the role and the historical place of individual types of money and changes occurring in the functions of money can only be explained from the standpoint of the Marxist theory of the value of labor. To consider gold a permanent currency or to recognize its demonetization only in words, as a process which will never be completed, is to ignore new developments.

When the internal structure of the atom was discovered, the bourgeois press raised a fuss about the "disappearance of matter." In his work, "Materializm i empiriokritichizm" [Materialism and Empiriocriticism], V. I. Lenin explained from a Marxist standpoint that matter had not disappeared but that our concept of it had been expanded. It is no less important to understand that for the essence of money the removal of gold from circulation does not mean the disappearance of money or of a universal exchange. Money has only lost one of its forms, whereas other forms are fulfilling the function in accordance with the laws of the value of monetary circulation.

Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Lyubimov stressed the fact that all of Varga's works invariably devoted a great deal of attention to changes occurring in the status of the working class and in the strategy and tactics of the ruling circles, aimed at preserving their influence and restraining the proletariat from engaging in a revolutionary struggle.

In his last works on 20th-century capitalism, Varga wrote, among other things, that a rapid growth of population and a considerable increase in unemployment would begin in the mid-1960's and that the latter would also spread to the "white-collar worker." Just what is the situation of the working class in the 1970's like? There is a growth of unemployment, unprecedented for the postwar years, general employment instability, a lagging of wages behind the rapid rise in the cost of living resulting from an extremely high rate of inflation, and the sporadic implementation of various income policies aimed at "freezing" wages. There is a deeply-rooted crisis for state-monopolistic control of the labor market, due in great part to the negative effect upon the situation of the working class of the activities of the huge monopolies, primarily trans-national monopolies, which are practically not subject to state control.

Large-scale unemployment encompasses approximately 16-17 million people, or 5-6 percent of the capitalist world's economically active population.

The causes of such a high level of unemployment are rooted in the following factors: the scientific and technological revolution, which is producing far-reaching structural changes; adoption of the latest means of automation and mechanization and labor-saving equipment; increased concentration and centralization of production and capital; and the ruin of many small businesses. These processes coincided chronologically with the mass entry into the labor market of youth and women of all working ages, which began in the mid-1960's.

Structural crises, sluggishness of the post-crisis investment process and low rates of economic growth, with no increases foreseen in the near future, were a new development in the second half of the 1970's. The changing nature and focus of investments—not in the expansion of production capacities or the creation of new jobs but for improving production efficiency and the even more rapid adoption of the latest equipment for purposes of reducing outlays for labor, as well as for fuel and energy, has been even more important.

The combination of all these factors have made unemployment an extremely acute social and economic problem. For the first time since the war, it has affected almost all hired workers, including many categories of skilled workers, white-collar workers, engineers and administrative personnel. Youth and women lacking the proper training or experience account for approximately half of the unemployed. The workingman's situation is deteriorating considerably in a number of nations due to the constantly increasing cost of consumer goods, housing and transportation, an increase in the amounts paid into the social security funds by the blue- and white-collar workers themselves, and increasing income taxes. According to many forecasts, furthermore, even higher rates of unemployment and a reduction in the workers' standard of living are expected in the years immediately ahead. A natural countertrend opposing such prospects, and Varga wrote about this, is the intensification of the working class' struggle not just in individual nations but within the entire capitalist world.

Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Zhurkin (United State of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences) stressed the fact that E. Varga's scientific legacy is making it easier to study many complex problems of contemporary international relations. In his works, primarily in the well-known works "Osnovnyye voprosy ekonomiki i politiki imperializma (posle vtoroy mirovoy voyny)" [Basic Questions of Imperialism's Economics and Politics (After World War II)] (1957) and "Kapitalizm XX veka" [Capitalism in the 20th Century] (1961), he analyzed the factors determining modern imperialism's foreign policy strategy and studied the motive forces behind the foreign policy of the United States of America, the main imperialist power. Along with the traditional problems of the motive forces behind imperialism's foreign policy (economic imperatives, the class goals of the monopolistic bourgeoisie,

a trend toward expansion and aggression eminently inherent in imperialism, the class struggle, and others), Varga also carefully studied the new factors, primarily international, influencing the foreign policy of the United States.

These are, first and foremost, the altered balance of power between the two systems, socialism and capitalism, which subsequently resulted in the development of equality of strategic forces between the USSR and the USA and equality between the forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The concomitant development of modern weapons systems (primarily nuclear weapons and means of delivery) created a situation in which an aggressor, the instigator of a new world war, will inevitably be destroyed by a massive retaliatory strike by the victim of the aggression.

There is a growing understanding in the imperialist camp of the fact, as E. Varga wrote, that "the conduct of a war with modern weapons can result in such enormous losses of human lives and material that a victory in the war could not compensate for them."¹² The enormous cost of the contemporary arms race, to which Varga also turned his attention, must also have a restraining effect upon the imperialist powers.

The gradual acknowledgment of these new realities in the United States has led to a significant demarcation within the ruling class. Some of its members are in favor of detente. We are witnessing the fact that the struggle revolving around problems of detente in the nation is continuing and intensifying. E. Varga repeatedly pointed out the complexity and the conflicting nature of the struggle waged in the capitalist world (including its ruling circles) around foreign policy matters. In the United States of America today, for example, there is a minimum of five or six trends with respect to detente. There are proponents of a constructive approach; bourgeois liberals; a grouping of business circles in favor of economic cooperation; moderate conservatives, among which there are also several trends; and finally, powerful groupings of opponents of detente, who advocate a return to the "cold war" and a more rigid foreign policy line. It is in just such a complex political situation that the United States' foreign policy strategy is being formed.

FOOTNOTES

1. E. S. Varga, "Nachalo obshchego krizisa kapitalizma" [The Beginning of Capitalism's Overall Crisis], Moscow, 1974, p 111.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 252.
3. "O Lenine. Vospominaniya zarubezhnykh sovremennikov" [About Lenin: Recollections of His Foreign Contemporaries], Moscow, 1962, p 33.

4. E. S. Varga, "Ocherki po problemam politekonomii kapitalizma" [Essays on Aspects of Capitalism's Political Economy], Moscow, 1965, p 3.
5. E. S. Varga, "Nachalo obshchego krizisa kapitalizma," p 263.
6. E. S. Varga, "Ocherki po problemam politekonomii kapitalizma," p 25.
7. Ibid., p 61.
8. E. S. Varga, "Kapitalizm posle vtoroy mirovoy voyny" [Capitalism After World War II], Moscow, 1974, p 96.
9. Ibid., p 252.
10. Some important opinions on possible variations in this interaction are contained in one of E. Varga's first works, "Krizis mirovogo kapitalisticheskogo khozyaystva" [The Crisis of the World Capitalist Economy], published in 1921.
11. E. S. Varga, "Ocherki po problemam politekonomii kapitalizma," p 221.
12. E. S. Varga, "Sovremennyy kapitalizm i ekonomicheskiye krizisy" [Contemporary Capitalism and Economic Crises], Moscow, 1962, p 502.

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OBLAST PARTY HEADS DISCUSS ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS

Transformation of the Steppe

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 80 p 3

[Article by V. Nikulin, first secretary of the Kalmytskaya Oblast CPSU Committee: "The Transformation of the Steppe"]

[Text] In the not too distant past it was thought that only feather-grass could grow in the steppes of Kalmytskaya ASSR. The well-known drought and lack of water did not allow the oblast to participate in agriculture. If grain was cultivated anywhere it was on little plots and using the most primitive of methods.

Today no one is surprised that the Kalmytskaya ASSR produces guaranteed harvests of grains, rice, vegetables and feed crops. It must be said immediately that all of this became possible through irrigation. Today we have two successfully functioning watering-sprinkler systems: in the north of the republic--Sarpinskaya, tied to the Volga basin, and Chernozemel'skaya, which uses water from the Chograyskoye Water Reservoir with a volume of 720 million cubic meters. The creation of this man-made sea is to a significant degree the result of the brotherly aid of the peoples in the Northern Caucasus, who through joint efforts laid a 1,000-kilometer main line from Terek to the depths of the Kalmytsk steppe. In the east the small Olya-Kaspiyskaya system is in operation.

Irrigated farming is becoming more and more developed from year to year. In the west the construction of the Pravo-Yegoriyskaya system is continuing. In the near future another 15,000 hectares will be irrigated here through the use of the Gorodovikovskoye Reservoir with a capacity of 91 million cubic meters. The Kalmytsko-Astrakhanskaya rice system, the second stage of the Chogray--Iki-Bural--Priyutnoye water line, the Yustinskiy pasture water line and a number of other important water-management structures are being constructed. All of this building is subservient to one goal--fulfilling the program indicated by the 25th party congress regarding the transformation of our dry steppe into fertile fields.

At the present time in Kalmytskaya ASSR kolkhozes and sovkhoses irrigate almost 70,000 hectares of lands, and over half of this area by means of so-called local irrigation, i.e. irrigation that was created using the efforts and means of the enterprises themselves. Here the main crops are feed crops, which are needed for the continued development of sheep farming and livestock farming for meat, the leading branches in the republic's enterprises. There are hundreds of thousands of flooded pastures and haylands. Artesian wells, ponds and pit wells have been created throughout the entire steppe.

The development of rice sowing is especially important for the republic. Research conducted by scientific and planning organizations and production practical experience have demonstrated the high degree of effectiveness of the widespread production of rice in the Sarpinskaya lowlands. Its cultivation here is encouraged by soil-climatic conditions and by the proximity of water sources, electrical energy and transportation communications. This is why a decision was made about the continued development of rice sowing and feed production in the Sarpinskaya lowlands. In the future it is planned to increase the area of irrigated lands to 125,000 hectares, including up to 90,000 hectares for rice. This will enable us to produce up to a quarter of a million tons of rice annually and up to 300,000 tons of feed units of feeds. In the Sarpinskaya lowlands it is planned to build eight sovkhoses for rice and feed production and one enterprise for vegetable and dairy production. The first stage of the Severnyy group water line must be laid to provide a water supply for settlements and for flooding pastures. The building of paved roads will require a quicker pace.

The advance on the Sarpinskaya lowlands began in 1966 when the Voskhod Sovkhoz in the zone of the Bol'shoy Tsaryn estuary sowed rice for the first time and each of 541 hectares produced an average of 45.1 quintals of grain. Now there are 9,000 hectares of well-constructed rice plots there, three rice-farming sovkhoses and a testing enterprise of the republic's reclamation station. A new rayon--Oktyabr'skiy--was organized. The expansion and strengthening of the building base required the transformation of the republic's water management building organization into the union production association with two powerful trusts, mechanized columns and plots. A department of rice-cultivation technology in the Sarpinskaya lowlands has been created in the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Rice. The Kalmytskiy Reference point of the All-Russian Scientific Research Institute of Irrigated Farming was also recently created.

The assimilation of the Sarpinskaya lowlands has been proceeding at an ever-increasing pace. The oblast party committee, the presidiums of the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers of the Kalmytskaya ASSR are organizing and directing the efforts of communists, deputies and all workers at fulfilling the accepted goals. The problems of transforming a large steppe zone into a rice granary and a dependable feed base were discussed thoroughly at plenums of party obkoms and raykoms, in party organizations,

in production collectives, at sessions of the republic's supreme soviet and of local soviets of workers' deputies and at meetings of the Council of Ministers of the Kalmytskaya ASSR.

Intensive, slow daily work has had its practical results. The overall search for building materials in the region of the Sarpinskaya lowlands has been completed; previously-established resources are promising to virgin-land farmers. The collectives of enterprises of the building industry, water management construction, communications and energy have rendered a great deal of aid in the building of two new rice-farming sovkhozes--Dzhangar and Idzhil--and in installing an irrigation network. The assimilation of the Sarpinskaya lowlands has been named an all-union shock komsomol-youth building site. Party organizations have taken on the responsibility of permanently controlling the training of cadres. More and more young men and women are being sent to study the specialties needed in the virgin lands in higher educational institutions and technical schools, vocational-technical schools and courses.

Nevertheless, despite the multi-faceted and reliable work that was performed, we realize that everything possible has not yet been done. The plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the clear resolutions in speeches by the party's general secretary of the central committee and the chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, provide new goals for us. In improving food supplies for our country's population the farmers of Kalmytskaya ASSR can and must make a more weighty contribution. This will be facilitated to an enormous degree both on schedule and ahead of time by a program of assimilating irrigated lands.

Of primary importance are builders and reclamation workers. Unfortunately, not at all stages and on all plots of water-management construction and assimilation do things go well. Thus, the association Soyuzkalmvodstroy [All-union Kalmytskaya ASSR water management construction association] did not fulfill its plans for construction-installation work and for putting irrigated areas, production capacities and social-cultural facilities into operation. The main reasons were the weak production base and its slow development. The time for this is long past, but the Ministry of Land Improvement and Water Resources of the USSR still has not confirmed the technical-economic basis for the very necessary construction base in the settlements of Malye Darbety and Bol'shoy Tsaryn. There has been no evaluation of the technical and economic foundation for installing the Severnyy group water line or for the second stage of the Chernozemel'skaya watering-irrigation system. The issuance of design documentation for creating rice plots was intolerably behind schedule. Builders are experiencing an acute shortage of many materials. The assignments on cooperative deliveries of ferroconcrete sections from the plants of the central directorates of the USSR Ministry of Water Resources for the association Soyuzkalmvodstroy are not being fulfilled. Water-management structures are supplied unsatisfactorily. This applies especially to the Sarpinskaya lowlands and the wall materials from Stavropol'skiy Kray and Rostovskaya Oblast. There is also a shortage of metal structural members

and timber materials. The reserves of non-ore materials also are not being used in full measure.

The pace of the complex assimilation of the Sarpinskaya lowlands depends greatly on the creation of good roads. Unfortunately, this work is beginning slowly, and the building of priority paved roads is behind schedule. The schedules for laying railroad tracks are not clear. It is extremely important to accelerate a solution to the problem of energy supplies in the region. Here it is appropriate to discuss the following. Quite recently industrial resources of natural gas were found in the region near the Sarpinskaya lowlands. The fate of the natural gas fields and the use of the rich new possibilities for energy as well as for municipal-household purposes in the newly assimilated zone now depend on Mingazprom [Ministry of gas industry] and Minnefteprom [Ministry of petroleum industry].

Republic and rayon organizations and the directors of enterprises and building subdivisions have tolerated many errors and violations in the course of the subjugation of the blue virgin lands. They have not remained unnoticed, as attested to in particular by the 1979 plenum of the oblast party committee and the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Kalmytskaya ASSR, which made an evaluation of the status of water-management building and of the assimilation of irrigated lands.

To fulfill the indicated program of field rejuvenation, to raise the effectiveness of farming and feed production and on this basis to accelerate the intensification of livestock farming--these are the goals of republic workers. Having completed the 4-year plans, they intend to honorably fulfill the goals of the five-year plan as a whole and to meet the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and the 60th anniversary of the Kalmytskaya ASSR with honor.

Role of Socialist Competition

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 80 p 2

[Article by A. Kovalenko, first secretary of the Orenburgskaya Oblast CPSU committee and twice Hero of Socialist Labor: "The Moral Force of the Example"]

[Text] Our party and the Soviet people are living today in an atmosphere of special labor and political development. This year is the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and the 35th anniversary of victory in the Great Fatherland War. It is also the year of active preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress. The Soviet nation has entered the final stage of the battle to implement the historical plans of the 25th CPSU Congress and to fulfill the goals of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

A new infusion of creative force and a feeling of pride about our Leninist party and the Soviet homeland in all workers were the result of a speech by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the

Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at a meeting with the electors of the Baumanskiy electoral okrug of the city of Moscow as well as the result of elections into the soviets of people's deputies.

The pre-election speech of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev had an invaluable significance for realizing the party's political line. He made a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of today's problems, presented a program for the continued improvement of the economy and the life of the people and made a detailed presentation of the main directions in fighting for peace and social progress.

The Soviet people have achieved notable successes in economics. Although the five-year plan is not yet over it is already clear that in scale the results of the creative work of our society will be greater than ever before. It is satisfying to note that in strengthening the economic strength of the homeland a large contribution was made by the workers of Orenburgskaya Oblast, which was awarded the challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Trade Union Council] and the Central Committee of the Komsomol for successes during 1979. This honor was also bestowed on the city of Buzuluk, three rural rayons and 21 labor collectives.

Socialist competition has become an effective means of solving the most important socio-economic problems before the oblast party organization. "You gave your word, now keep it," is the moral precept long respected among the people that today sounds especially appropriate. Keeping one's word, fulfilling obligations, agitation through deeds and actions--these are the most effective means of cultivating an active vital attitude in each individual.

The moral force of the example of those who came before is especially great and attractive. The victors of competition are usually people who are ideologically convinced, who have thought deeply and according to state principles. Their contribution to the fulfillment of plans and socialist obligations, to strengthening the economy and to developing oblast culture.

During 4 years of the five-year plan 5.5 million rubles of capital investments were assimilated and 130 large industrial structures were put into operation. Among them are the well-known Soyuz gas-chemical complex and gas lines, the 800 rolling mill at the Orsko-Khalilovskiy Metallurgical Combine, the new power units at the Iriklinskaya GRES, the first stage of the Kiyembayevskiy Asbestos Mining-Concentrating Combine. Many structures for cultural and social purposes and 3.5 million square meters of living space have been constructed.

In the oblast each year production output is 1.5 billion rubles more than on the average during the Ninth Five-Year Plan. It is characteristic that a growth in production volume in industry is accompanied by a growth in efficiency and work quality. At the present time 300 industrial products have been given the Seal of Quality and 217 of these are consumer goods.

With a feeling of special satisfaction we would like to note the successes in agriculture. During 1976-1979 in comparison with the average annual indicators of the last five-year plan grain production has grown by 50 percent and potato and vegetable production by 15-20 percent. The procurement plan for meat, milk, eggs and wool was fulfilled ahead of schedule. The state was sold an additional 251,400 tons of milk, 156,700,000 eggs and 1,838 tons of wool. The weighty contribution of oblast workers to the area of grain procurement was evaluated highly in the speech of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the November 1979 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. This aroused a feeling of pride and inspiration in Orenburg workers, a desire to gladden the homeland with even weightier labor victories. The movement toward model organization in the fields has acquired an even more massive nature. It began in the collective of the second division of the Sovkhoz imeni Magnitostroy of Tashlinskiy Rayon headed by Hero of Socialist Labor and meritorious agronomist of the RSFSR A. Petrukovich. The initiative was widely supported. Extensive organizational work was performed everywhere to disseminate this valuable experience. Specialists developed clear conditions for the competition and resolutions on awarding titles to collectives with high-quality work and on rewarding the victors.

Today we can already speak of specific results from this work. In the oblast's kolkhozes and sovkhozes crop rotations have been assimilated on almost 99 percent of the plowland and 70 percent of the late-fall plowed fields are being plowed ahead of schedule. The use of organic and mineral fertilizers has improved radically and sowing and harvesting operations are taking place on schedule.

We are directing the most serious attention at organizing socialist competition of machine operators for the highly efficient utilization of technology and for achieving the best final result--a large harvest. Here an important role will be played by the traditional rallies of masters of the harvest and the representatives of family, units, links and detachments on the eve of the harvest. Last year, for example, this kind of rally became an interesting and useful meeting about how best and most quickly to complete the harvest, about what could be done in order to make the experience of the best grain farmers and their progressive labor methods accessible to all machine operators.

On the eve of the harvest an appeal was published by the well-known combine operators of Orenburgskaya Oblast and Heroes of Socialist Labor A. V'yugin, V. Cherdintsev and L. Kovalenko. It called for the organization of All-Russian Socialist Competition among family units and links. "For grain farmers the harvest is not simply a production campaign," they wrote. "It is joyful work and the culmination of a year's work with the soil. Village children burn with the fervent desire to be next to their fathers in the fields, participating in the harvest and sharing their joys and worries. And a father's tutelage is the best form of education. We have hundreds and hundreds of examples of this."

This call received widespread support everywhere. In our oblast alone 5,000 family units joined the movement. The fight for grain truly became a common task. Entire families have gone into the fields. Wives toiled next to husbands, children helped fathers.

When the harvest results were summarized, many initiators of the competition were among the victors. First place among family units and in the oblast as a whole was taken by the unit of A. V'yugin of the Rossiya Kolkhoz of Ilekkiy Rayon, which threshed 29,250 quintals of grain per combine. The following attests to the spirit of labor competition during the days of the harvesting operations. Second place was won by the unit of V'yugin's younger brother Vladimir of the same kolkhoz. The V'yugin brothers worked with their sons, and Vladimir was only 110 quintals behind the winner. Excellent results were also achieved by Hero of Socialist Labor and recipient of the State Prize of the USSR Leonid Kovalenko and his brother Viktor, who received Star Pennants imeni Yu. A. Gagarin.

This year the best results were achieved by the farmers of the virgin rayons in the oblast. In the year of its 25th anniversary the virgin land satisfied us with its large harvest. Hundreds of family units worked in shock formation in the fields of Adamovskiy, Kvarkenskiy and Svetlinskiy rayons. During this quarter of a century a new generation has grown up here to assuredly continue the work of the first virgin-land farmers and to worthily carry on the traditions. Hundreds of labor dynasties have formed and the profession of grain farmer has become a family tradition for them. They are skilled in cultivating fields like masters and in raising grain of hard and strong varieties on them.

One such dynasty lives and works in Uran Sovkhoz of Novosergiyevskiy Rayon. The length of service of the Karpushkin family is 150 years. The lives of the members of this dynasty are rich, interesting, educational and belongs on the pages of a good novel. Its head, Mikhail Pavlovich Karpushkin, and his wife, Praskov'ya Ivanovna, were among the first tractor operators in the oblast in the 1920's. Their sons Nikolay and Gennadiy followed in their footsteps.

The family unit of Karpushkins has demonstrated model labor more than once on sovkhos fields. The grain harvested by the family can be loaded on 28 trains with 60 boxcars in each. Over 1,100,000 quintals--this is the total weight of the grain that is cultivated, harvested and sent to elevators by the hands of the Karpushkin family. During the last harvest representatives of the third generation of the family worked next to their elders.

The labor of the well-known grain farmers has been highly evaluated by the homeland. Mikhail Pavlovich Karpushkin has received the title of Hero of Socialist Labor. His elder son Nikolay has been awarded the Order of the Labor Red Banner and he has become a meritorious machine operator of the RSFSR. The younger son Gennadiy is a recipient of the Order of Lenin and of the Labor Red Banner.

In supporting and developing socialist competition among family units, links and detachments the oblast party organization and the soviets of people's deputies achieve several goals. The experience of recent years has convincingly shown that in labor dynasties discipline is much stronger and productivity and work quality are higher. The most important thing is that they are a good example for young people. Let's take the Karpushkin family as our example again--it has become a unique nidus around which other labor dynasties form.

We are obliged to think about the future of the village, about who will sit behind the controls of combines and tractors. Yes, today the oblast's enterprises have experienced machine operator cadres at their disposal. About 44,000 people work on agricultural machinery.

However, we cannot but be concerned that in some places there is a shortage of well-trained machine operators so that two-shift technological operations cannot be instituted. We are also concerned that the guard of machine operators is growing old and that the average age of rural workers is increasing. Who will replace today's heroes, the pride and fame of Orenburgskaya Oblast? Life confirms that we have chosen the right way to solve this problem.

The 10th Five-Year Plan is coming to a close. Today communists and all oblast workers are working intensely to fulfill the obligations of the final year in answer to the high evaluation of their work. In industry it has been decided to complete the annual plan on production sales and on the production of most of the most important goods by 29 December. There will be 30 million rubles worth of overproduction, including 6.5 million for the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth.

In implementing the agrarian policies of the party on the basis of introducing the achievements of science and progressive experience into production and of raising the quality of farming, field workers will sell the state 3,850,000 tons of grain, 240,000 tons of livestock and poultry, 775,000 tons of milk, 365 million eggs and 11,020 tons of wool.

In preparing for a dignified meeting of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, a number of labor collectives that have been awarded the Order of Lenin and holding his name have proposed to mark the celebration by means of new labor achievements. At the present time about 99,000 workers and kolkhoz farmers, 4,760 production subdivisions and 99 labor collectives are participating in the movement, "Five-year plan for the 110th Anniversary of V. I. Lenin's Birth." Over 30,000 persons and 840 production subdivisions are already working toward the 11th Five-Year Plan.

View to Final Results

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Mar 80 p 2

[Article by A. Khomyakov, first secretary of the Tambovskaya Oblast CPSU Committee: "The Final Results are the Main Thing"]

[Text] The decisions of the November 1979 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the speech of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the plenum compel us to thoroughly and conscientiously study the styles and methods of activities of party, soviet and economic organs again and again. In analyzing their work, generalizing observations and comparing figures and facts we once again come to the conclusion that one of the most essential factors securing the achievement of great final results is purposefulness, the skill to concentrate attention, efforts and means on the main goals and the ability to move toward the goal persistently and purposefully. The experience that has been accumulated in Tambovskiy Rayon, for example, convinces us of that.

This rayon is a large one, with 25 kolkhozes and sovkhoses and several industrial enterprises. Its suburban location poses some problems with the work force. Naturally, it is difficult to manage such an economy. However, the party raykom and rayispolkom were able to organize things so that workers achieve high economic indicators. This happened after the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Management of Agriculture by the Tambovskaya Oblast CPSU Committee." A decisive role here was played by the constant improvements in the style and methods of work and in the search for new, more effective forms of organizational and political-educational activity.

The party raykom and rayispolkom analyze and generalize progressive experience as a matter of course, attempting to introduce the best into practical use. For example, the Put' Il'icha Kolkhoz and the Orlovskiy Sovkhoz organized the overwintering of livestock very well under complicated conditions. In the enterprises people were trained ahead of time, mechanisms were adjusted and feed was used efficiently. In the rayon the experience of these enterprises was studied and introduced widely and persistently.

Here it was thoroughly understood that it is not the quantity of various types of meetings, conferences and papers which determine the effectiveness of organizational work, but specific deeds, specific aid to party and deputy groups and a thorough study of local conditions.

The raykom and rayispolkom selected several basic problems from the total number and focused their efforts on solving them. In particular special attention is given to raising the quality of farming and animal husbandry and to improving the use of material and labor resources.

In this the raykom makes no substitutions. It develops and supports initiative and independence in the work of local soviets, trade unions, komsomol organizations and organs of people's control.

In this rayon there are many notable labor collectives. One of them is the Sovkhoz imeni 60-letiya VLKSM, headed by A. Chukanov, member of the CPSU obkom, meritorious agronomist of the RSFSR and deputy of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. The experience and practices of this enterprise are confirmation of the productivity of collective creative efforts, purposefulness and persistence in achieving goals. Several years ago it was one of the most backward enterprises in the oblast. Yields were low, cadres could not be retained and labor discipline was so poor that it left something better to be desired.

The raykom and rayispolkom decided to send A. Chukanov, an energetic administrator, to this enterprise. With the help of the party organization and the village soviet it was possible to alter the situation in a short time. Most attention was directed at the quality of farming and at introducing the achievements of science and practical experience. Competition was instituted broadly and each brigade and machine operator accepted specific obligations. This produced its own results. Under last year's unfavorable conditions the sovkhoz produced 40 quintals of grain, 450 quintals of corn for silage and over 800 quintals of feed beets per hectare. The profitability of all production branches was secured.

The activities of the party organization, the administration and the entire collective of the Polimermash plant are also characterized by purposefulness and a business-like manner. Here special attention is given to the well-paced operations of each section and of the enterprise in its entirety. The collective has assimilated a progressive system of controls over production quality. Party and public organizations, communists and deputies are concerned daily with the development of effective socialist competition.

Here are the results. During the past 4 years the volume of industrial production increased by over 25 percent, labor productivity--by one-third. The output-capital ratio has increased significantly. Goals on profits and profitability in production have been overfulfilled, and the quality of production has become much better (about 40 percent receives the Seal of Quality). Last year alone over one-half million rubles' worth of production was achieved from the materials that were economized on. A large role in this was played by the business-like qualities and administrative skills of the director, deputy of the city soviet A. Rudyy.

However, other types of examples are also frequent. In the work style of some party committees, ispolkoms of soviets of people's deputies, local party organizations and directors of various ranks we still find a type of inability to isolate that which is most important and to focus efforts on decisive directions, an inability to follow through until the end.

Here is an example. Pichayevskiy Rayon is one that has lagged behind. In the course of a number of years harvests have been low and livestock farmers have not fulfilled their plan goals. In attempting to correct the situation, the raykom and rayispolkom have "organized" various initiatives

and made appeals. Last year alone about 15 of them were printed in newspapers. It is clearer than clear that in such a situation it is sometimes difficult even to become oriented--what is the most important goal, what should attention be focused on? Some of the "initiative" which is essentially right and useful is simply lost because it is not anchored with specific organizational work.

The same work style is characteristic of the oblast administration of consumer services to the population. The people have many serious and justifiable complaints against enterprises in the service sphere. The administration that is directed by L. Kochurov limits itself to meetings and to passing new, frequently premature orders, starting everything at once without making a thorough analysis of the reasons for the lags, determining the main spheres of activity, strengthening coordination in the work of services and raising demandingness toward cadres.

Our oblast's workers greeted the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "Concerning Improving the Planning and Strengthening the Effect of the Managerial Mechanism on Raising the Effectiveness of Production and the Quality of Work," with great satisfaction.

This document contains a complex program for improving the planned management of the economy, for the continued development of democratic beginnings in production management and in raising the creative activeness of labor collectives. The oblast's workers see this decision as an organic, purposeful continuation of the line indicated by the 25th CPSU Congress and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

Naturally, the solution of important problems requires persistence and initiative from communists, people's deputies and all workers. Firstly this applies to administrative cadres. We of course are far from the thought that the work style of all administrators should be uniform. On the contrary, each one must have his own individual "handwriting" that reflects the organizational skill of the given administrator. But no matter how individual the style, all administrators must have the general Leninist, party style of management in common.

In speaking before the electors of Baumannskiy Okrug, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted, "One must always remember his duty to the people, the duties of party, work and humanity. Without the persistent fulfillment of these duties, without the skill to unite word and deed there is no and cannot be a real party and Soviet worker."

The broader the scale of goals and the more complex they are, the more significance is attached to qualities such as activeness, initiative and an uncompromising attitude toward shortcomings and violations. The personal participation of each worker in the battle to eliminate them is an expression of an active position in life and an indicator of citizenship. This was clearly reflected firstly in labor competition and in new, useful initiatives.

The support of our workers' initiative of recent years, such as, "A worker's Guarantee of a Quality Five-Year Plan," "Working without Lags," and "From the High Quality Work of Each Individual to the High Effectiveness of Labor in the Collective," is an apparent indicator of the growth of activeness among the masses. We feel that it is the goal of party organizations and soviets of people's deputies to develop it.

The improvement in the style and methods of management has enabled our oblast to last year achieve fairly good results in the development of a number of branches of the national economy. A plan to sell products by industry has been fulfilled and the number of enterprises that could not meet their goals was brought down to a minimum. The plans for the assimilation of capital investments have been overfulfilled. Agricultural workers have created a basis for producing large harvests. Many kolkhozes and sovkhoses are managing the overwintering of livestock in an organized manner.

Nevertheless the possibilities for improving the final results in all branches of the national economy and culture are still not being used fully, particularly in the construction of residential housing, as written in IZVESTIYA.

Widespread competition has begun for a worthy meeting of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and for a successful conclusion to the 10th Five-Year Plan. Strengthening discipline and order and improving organization are the primary concerns of party organizations and soviets of people's deputies.

Initiative, purposefulness, a business-like manner in the search for and utilization of resources--these are the mandatory conditions for achieving planned goals and for successfully implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

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GRISHIN ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 3, 1980 pp 3-18

[Article by CPSU Central Committee Politburo Member V. V. Grishin, First Secretary, Moscow City CPSU Committee: "The Party's Ideological Work--An Important Front in the Struggle for Communism"]

[Text] Ideological work among the masses and concern for indoctrinating the laborers in a communist spirit have always been viewed by our party, and are viewed so today, as the most important aspects of the party's activities aimed at transforming society into a socialist system. V. I. Lenin emphasized: "...being the advance guard in the struggle, the main task of the Communist Party must be to help indoctrinate and educate the laboring masses.... This principal task of the whole socialist revolution must never be allowed to drop from sight...."¹ Growth in the role of the conscious creative activity of the broad laboring masses was viewed by the leader of the party and people as a law organically inherent to socialism.

Following Lenin's commandments, the CPSU has done a tremendous amount of work to indoctrinate the people, and it has raised and nurtured entire generations of zealous warriors for communism. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted in a report of the Central Committee to the 25th CPSU Congress that the most important result of the journey of 60 years traveled by our country under the guidance of the Leninist party is "the Soviet individual. An individual who, having gained his freedom, managed to defend it in the hardest battles. An individual who built the future sparing no effort, and proceeding forward no matter what the sacrifice. An individual who, having endured all trials, himself changed unrecognizably, and united within himself ideological conviction and a tremendous vital energy, culture, knowledge, and the ability to use them. This is an individual who, being a zealous patriot, was and will always be a consistent internationalist."²

The achievements of the CPSU in indoctrinating the Soviet people and in encouraging conscious participation of the multimillion laboring masses in communist construction are one of the main factors responsible for the country's success in its socioeconomic and cultural development, and for the increasingly fuller realization of the potentials and advantages of socialism.

These achievements became possible mainly because our party, doing the diverse work of shaping the new individual, treated this development as a scientifically grounded and scientifically controllable process, having Marxist-Leninist theory as its dependable base, constantly enriched and developed in accordance with the needs of the times. The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin" states "The CPSU devotes priority attention to developing communist awareness in the laborers, to improving ideological and political indoctrination, to raising the scientific level, understandability, and effectiveness of propaganda, and to strengthening its ties with life. The party nurtures all members of the society in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, a communist attitude toward labor and public property, and political alertness and intolerance of bourgeois ideology."

History and the experience of the laboring masses impart great vitality and attractiveness to communist ideals and to our glorious goals. The entire course of development of events in today's world fully confirms the validity of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and the policy of the CPSU. Reality graphically persuades the Soviet people that the communist path of development is the most fruitful and promising path, corresponding fully with their interests. Our party and state are doing everything to develop productive forces in the country and, on this basis, raise the standard of living of the laborers, to constantly improve socialist democracy, and to insure peace and international security.

The Soviet people are confident of the future, of achieving the goals of communist development. They are closely united about their Leninist party, and they avidly approve and support its political course and the multifaceted practical activities of the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo, and CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. Convincing evidence of this can be found in the 24 February elections to the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics, and to the local soviets of peoples deputies, marked by the unshared victory of the invincible bloc of communists and party nonmembers.

A good moral-political atmosphere objectively insures favorable conditions for further intensification of ideological work. The USSR has created tremendous possibilities for comprehensive development of the people. All of the material and spiritual wealth of our country has been made available to the broadest masses. The concern of the party and state for communist indoctrination, for insuring harmonious development of the personality, and for developing the creativity, capabilities, and endowments of the individual has become a rule of life, documented by the new USSR Constitution.

Today, in the stage of developed socialism, the CPSU is constantly intensifying its attention to problems associated with political indoctrination, trying to improve it and raise its effectiveness.

In today's conditions, formation of a communist attitude toward labor and public property, development of the creativity of the laborers, and reinforcement of conscious discipline and organization are becoming the prerequisites of both political and economic tasks. Growth in the role of ideological work is also the product of the foreign political situation, of the greater intensity of the actions of our enemies in the international arena, and of intensification of anti-Soviet and anticommunist propaganda.

The 25th CPSU Congress, which oriented the party organizations at assuming an integrated approach to indoctrination, has important significance to ideological activity. The congress's documents and materials and the report given at it by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev mark a new stage in the development of the theory and practice of this work.

In recent years the CPSU Central Committee adopted a number of decrees on the main issues associated with the party's ideological activities. Several all-union scientific-practical conferences on its most important directions have been held. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's works "On Communist Indoctrination of the Laborers," "On the Pressing Problems of Party Development," "On the Foreign Policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State," and "Pressing Problems in the CPSU's Ideological Work," his memoirs "Malaya zemlya" [The Little Land], "Vozrozhdeniye" [Resurrection], and "Tselina" [The Virgin Land], and others are having a tremendous influence, improving all party-political work of the party organizations.

New manifestations of the party's attention toward communist indoctrination of the masses can be found in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Indoctrination" and in the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers held in October 1979. The Central Committee decree and the report "A Matter of the Entire Party" given by CPSU Central Committee Politburo Member, CPSU Central Committee Secretary M. A. Suslov at the conference summarized the results of multifaceted activities in this area in recent years, spelled out the ways to eliminate the existing shortcomings, and defined the tasks of the party organizations, the mass media, and all ideological institutions associated with raising the level and quality of political work in the masses in accordance with the new requirements.⁴

The CPSU Central Committee decree armed the party organizations with a thoroughly grounded and thought-out long-range integrated program of action. It was new, brilliant evidence of the fact that growth in the guiding role and influence of the CPSU in our society is manifesting itself to an ever-greater degree in the ideological sphere, and that party guidance to indoctrination will continue to intensify and improve.

The Moscow city party organization is doing a great deal of work to raise the scientific level and effectiveness of its ideological and political indoctrination activities in light of decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, and subsequent decrees of the CPSU Central Committee.

As we know, the 24th CPSU Congress posed a task to the capital's communists and laborers--making Moscow a model communist city.⁵ This is a complex task, one having many levels. Planning out the ways of its completion, the Moscow City CPSU Committee based itself on the idea that the countenance of the capital is determined mainly by the people. Indoctrination problems occupy the most important place within the complex of measures aimed at transforming Moscow into a model communist city. The diverse activities performed in this area by party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations in the labor collectives have the objective of making Muskovites the fullest embodiment of the best traits of the Soviet individual--a builder of communism.

These traits are contained within the document "The Moral Principles of a Resident of a Model Communist City," which was discussed and approved by all of the capital's enterprises, organizations, and institutions. The "Principles" are based on a communist attitude toward labor and public property, high responsibility for fulfillment of state plans, daily concern for work quality, active participation in the struggle for greater production effectiveness, a thrifty, concerned attitude toward expenditure of materials, energy, and each hour or working time, active participation in production management, improvement of occupational proficiency, and active participation in socialist competition.

The capital's residents must be typified by a sound Marxist-Leninist philosophy, devotion to the party's affairs and to the great ideas of Lenin, and a zealous love for their people and the motherland; the ability to correctly understand events occurring within the country and abroad, to evaluate them correctly, and to oppose the intrigues of bourgeois and revisionist propaganda; consistent internationalism on a class basis; support of the struggle of our party and state for peace and international security.

Muskovites are called upon to daily confirm communist traits in the life of the city and of all enterprises, institutions, schools, microdistricts, and rayons, to preserve and multiply the glorious revolutionary and labor traditions of the Soviet people, to strengthen socialist discipline and organization, to promote creation of a healthy, creative atmosphere in every labor collective, and to develop democratic foundations, criticism, and self-criticism.

The capital's residents must be distinguished by high culture and education, by a yearning for knowledge, by strict compliance with the rules of socialist community, by honesty and sincerity, by respect for surrounding individuals, by comradely mutual assistance, and by cordiality and hospitality in relation to Moscow's visitors. At the same time it is the duty of all to be intolerant of shortcomings, and to fight against vestiges of the past in the consciousness and behavior of the people, and against manifestations of alien viewpoints and morals. In order that the moral principles of a resident of a model communist city could be formed successfully in the laborers, young people of the party, soviet, business, and social organizations developed and as

successively implementing a complex of measures foreseeing unity in the goals and basic directions of political indoctrination, clear coordination of all of its resources, and close interaction between the family and the school and labor collectives.

One of the most significant factors promoting a rise in the effectiveness of ideological work is good living conditions for the Soviet people, satisfaction of their growing material and spiritual demands, and creation of a favorable situation in the city and in all of its cells.

As in our whole country, owing to the constant attention and concern of the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet government, and personally Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Moscow is also successfully developing its economy, science, and culture, and it is successively resolving its social problems. The master plan for the city's development is being implemented.

Great changes are occurring in economics. This is especially important, since the personality takes shape mainly in production, in the process of labor. It is precisely here that the individual expresses himself to the fullest extent. The latest machines and production processes, ones altering the content of labor, making it not only more productive but also more creative and interesting, are being introduced at the enterprises.

A broad range of tasks are being completed in the associations, plants, and factories of Moscow, to include improving labor organization and standardization, wages, and public health and esthetic conditions, and creation and improvement of the activities of personal services and cultural complexes both within enterprises and in the microdistricts.

The great scope of housing construction has made it possible to significantly improve the availability of apartments to Muskovites, and it has improved the level of amenities enjoyed by residents.

The city's personal services are developing successfully. There are now significantly more tailor shops, repair shops, dry cleaners, laundries, and other enterprises. The number of stores and dining halls has risen. Large storehouses have been built, making it possible to deliver fruits and vegetables to the public as they are harvested. Much work has been done to improve urban transportation and public health, and to expand the network of schools and preschool children's institutions. A system of measures to ease the labor and life of women has been developed and implemented. Much is being done to beautify the capital, to reconstruct its streets, boulevards, and squares, to vegetate it, and to protect the air and water basin, and all of the environment. At the same time there are still many shortcomings in these and other spheres of Moscow life, the elimination of which would require serious work on the part of city organizations.

The positive changes that have occurred affect practically all aspects of the life and labor of the Muskovites. As with all of the country, the capital

keenly senses a process of continuing growth in the standard of living, which is serving as an extremely powerful factor of indoctrination. Implementation of party policy aimed at developing socialist democracy and attracting more and more workers to participate in social and state affairs is playing a great role. All of this is creating a situation of social optimism, it is eliciting a desire in the Soviet people to work more creatively and to participate actively in social life, and it is insuring favorable prerequisites for a further rise in the effectiveness of political indoctrination.

Guiding itself by directives of the 25th CPSU Congress, the Moscow city party organization is structuring its work on the foundation of an integrated approach. An all-union scientific-practical conference entitled "Problems Associated With Integrated Completion of the Tasks of Communist Indoctrination in Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress" held at the capital in 1977 promoted extensive practical introduction of this approach.⁶ The issue of taking an integrated approach to ideological indoctrination was examined at the March 1978 Plenum of the Moscow City CPSU Committee and at meetings of the party's active party and ideological workers. A long-range plan of ideological work has been written. It concretely states the key issues involved in improvement of communist indoctrination of the Muscovites at production and at home, and associated with raising the effectiveness of all forms and resources of agitation and propaganda aimed at the masses. The city party organization is directing its principal efforts at shaping, in all laborers, a scientific philosophy, high political awareness, devotion to the ideals of communism, an active life position, Soviet patriotism, and proletarian internationalism. The system of political and economic training, which is undergoing constant expansion and improvement, is given a leading role in this task. In the 1978-1979 school year, for example, about 4.3 million laborers in Moscow participated in some form of Marxism-Leninist education. Presently there are as many as 4.5 million persons involved in all levels of party and Komsomol instruction, economic education, and mass forms of propaganda. Thus about 94 percent of working Muscovites are now participating in training. In the past 10 years the number of persons undergoing party-Komsomol and economic education in the capital more than doubled.

Political training has acquired qualitatively new traits in recent years. The center of gravity has shifted from introductory, elementary courses to deep study of pressing problems associated with Marxist-Leninist theory, the history and policy of the CPSU, and the practical aspects of party development. A significant rise in the proportion of secondary and higher levels of party training is a typical feature of political education. More than 40,000 persons are studying at the University of Marxism-Leninism of the Moscow CPSU City Committee and its branches--that is, receiving a higher political education. The fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism are being studied in schools by 31.3 percent of the students and in theoretical seminars by 59.6 percent. Instructor training seminars are especially popular among the scientific-technical intelligentsia and cultural workers. The number of such seminars increased by 1.5 times in the past decade, to exceed 1,000.

These figures graphically attest to the higher level of education and culture of the Muskovites, and their yearning to fully master Marxist-Leninist theory.

Political education consists basically of deep study of the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, the history of the CPSU, documents of the 23d, 24th, and 25th party congresses, plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and other party leaders. In recent years the study of materials associated with the national discussion and adoption of the new USSR Constitution and with preparations for and celebration of the 50th anniversary of Great October and the forthcoming 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth occupied a significant place in the work of all levels of Marxist-Leninist education. The proceedings of the November (1979) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech at an election meeting in Moscow's Baumanskiy Election District on 22 February of this year are now being studied with tremendous attention.

The Moscow City CPSU Committee and the capital's party organizations attach primary significance to raising the ideological-theoretical level of training, to increasing its influence upon growth of the sociopolitical and productive activities of the laborers, and to strengthening the tie between theory and practice in the 10th Five-Year Plan. Special attention is being devoted to the system of economic education, which is one of the significant factors associated with improving socialist business practices, mobilizing the internal reserves of production, and improving the organization of socialist competition. More than 1.3 million laborers are participating in some form of economic training. The number of schools of communist labor is rising. During the last school year, for example, the number of students in such schools increased by a factor of five in comparison with the 1968-1969 school year to half a million laborers and white-collar workers. The training being provided to executives has improved significantly. Implementing the directives of the CPSU, the Moscow city party organization intensified its attention to the practical results of political training. In the 1978-1979 school year, for example, more than 100,000 special lessons were held, during which students were given significant help in writing and adopting counterplans and socialist pledges. One hundred thirty eight thousand proposals aimed at improving production and labor organization were submitted, and a significant part of them have already been introduced into practice. Positive experience in this direction was accumulated by the searchlight, tabulating machine, and automatic line plants, the locomotive depot at the Moscow Sorting Terminal, the All-Union Planning, Surveying, and Scientific Research Institute imeni S. Ya. Zhuk, and a number of other enterprises.

The party organization of the Motor Vehicle Plant imeni Likhachev initiated a movement under the slogan "A personal accounting of economy for every propagandist and student of the system of economic education!". Economic commissions have been created at the enterprises to analyze and account for the contribution of every worker study group to economization of materials and manpower, and to growth in the effectiveness of production and work quality. In the 1978-1979 school year more than 22,000 students maintained

a personal account of their economization efforts. Development of efficiency and invention work, analysis of khozraschet activities, and reduction of losses due to waste made it possible to enter about 1.5 million rubles into these personal accounts. There are plans for depositing over 3 million rubles into the fund of the 10th Five-Year Plan by the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth. The initiative of the leading propagandists and students in the economic training system of the Motor Vehicle Plant imeni Likhachev was approved by the bureau of the Proletarskiy Rayon CPSU Committee and by the city council for economic education of laborers, and it was actively supported by practically all of the rayon's industrial enterprises.

The Moscow City CPSU Committee is persistently improving management of political and economic training, and it is maintaining constant control over lesson organization and quality. Forty workers and ideological workers are inspecting the activities of seminars and schools, they are questioning and interviewing propagandists and students, they are holding discussions on the materials studied, and so on. As an example the work of schools and seminars offering "Socialism and Labor" and "Engineering Labor in Socialist Society" courses was analyzed at 33 enterprises in the 1978-1979 school year. Research was conducted on problems such as the status of economic education in construction organizations, information support to propagandists, analysis of advanced production skills within the system of political and economic education, and so on. The resulting conclusions and recommendations were utilized in ongoing work with ideological workers. The research results led to adoption of concrete measures aimed at raising the effectiveness and quality of the lessons further.

The success of political and economic training depends entirely upon the level of theoretical and methodological training given to propagandists. "Competently select, train, and indoctrinate propagandists," states the CPSU Central Committee, "encircle them with daily concern and attention--this is the duty of all party committees."⁷ More than 115,000 persons are conducting propaganda work in the Moscow city party organization in the 1979-1980 school year, which is 52,000 more than in 1968-1969.⁸ As a rule these are people with a deep knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and a broad outlook, persons enjoying deserved authority. About 40 percent of the propagandists in the party training system graduated from the Moscow City CPSU Committee's University of Marxism-Leninism. Among them, there are 48,000 business managers and many representatives of the technical and creative intelligentsia. Most propagandists competently help their students assimilate the material being studied and utilize the knowledge they obtained in their practical activities.

The writing of personal creative plans is a new form of organization of propaganda making it possible to achieve high lesson effectiveness. Seminar and school directors are implementing a complex of measures foreseeing practical assistance to students not only in mastering theory and studying primary sources but also writing counterplans and socialist pledges, and satisfying them. About 90 percent of all propagandists of Moscow are actively participating in the movement "Propagandists--Your Five-Year Plan of Effectiveness and Quality."

The city and rayon CPSU committees are devoting great attention to theoretical and methodological training for political and economic lesson leaders. Propagandists undergo training and refresher training in 1,500 permanently operating seminars. Before the start of the 1979-1980 school year, 2-week courses were taught for novice propagandists within the system of Marxist-Leninist education in all rayons of Moscow. Later this form of training will become a permanent one both in the rayon committees and in the city CPSU committee. Political education offices, of which there are 850 in the city, economic advisors, and reference and information centers are providing a great deal of assistance to propagandists. Research schools have proven themselves to be an effective form of generalizing and disseminating the experience of the best propagandists, a form which enjoyed extensive development following the 25th CPSU Congress. There are presently 400 such schools in the party committees.⁹ Positive experience accumulated in the country's party organizations is extensively used in all forms of work with propagandists.

Further improvement of the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist theory and its practical use is directly associated with development of the social sciences. In recent years Moscow's scholars have broadened important studies on the problems of developed socialism and the international communist and workers movement. Institutes of the humanities and VUZ departments of social sciences are preparing scientific recommendations and proposals on improving social control and raising the educational role of labor collectives and the effectiveness of socialist competition. The ties these institutions have with ministries, departments, industrial enterprises, and sector scientific research institutes are improving.

The problems of communist indoctrination are regularly discussed by active ideological workers and scholars. In recent years scientific conferences have been held in Moscow on the following topics: "The Socialist Way of Life and Today's Ideological Struggle," "Lenin's Philosophical Legacy and Progress of Modern Science," "Scientific-Technical Progress and Today's Ideological Struggle," "Pressing Problems in the Ideological Struggle," "Improvement of the Forms and Methods of Ideological Indoctrination in Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress," and others. Much interest was elicited by a symposium on the topic "That Which is General and That Which is Particular in the Movement of National Liberation." Recommendations of the conferences and collections published on the basis of their proceedings are providing ideological workers, propagandists, and students in the system of political and economic training with rich theoretical materials, used to further improve party propaganda.

The capital's scholars are taking an active part in the writing and implementation of plans for socioeconomic development, and of long-range plans for communist indoctrination of the laborers. The collective of the Institute of Party History of the Moscow City Committee and the Moscow Committee of the CPSU is actively studying the history of the Moscow city party organization and problems in party development at the present stage. The number of scientific institutions in the humanities that have supported the initiative,

approved by the bureau of the Moscow City CPSU Committee, of the collective of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Chemical Physics to work under the slogan "High effectiveness and quality of the labor of researchers in the 10th Five-Year Plan" is increasing.

At the same time there is still much to do to raise the effectiveness and improve the content of scientific research, to promptly update the training programs and teaching methods, and to improve the activities of the Palace of Political Education of the Moscow City Committee and Moscow Committee of the CPSU, and the political education offices of the rayon party committees, enterprises, and organizations.

Oral political agitation is an important factor in the formation of a scientific philosophy, an active life position, and high ideological, political, and moral qualities within the builders of communism. Despite the growing significance of the mass media and propaganda, it was and remains one of the effective forms of the party's constant tie with the masses, and an effective implement of political leadership. The Moscow City CPSU Committee accounts for this in its practical activities, it persistently improves the organizational system of oral political agitation, and it enriches its arsenal with new, effective forms and methods.

In recent years noticeable changes occurred in the organization and content of mass agitation work among the city's laborers, changes stemming from the greater awareness and the higher level of general education and culture of the Muskovites.

First of all, the degree to which the people are informed about various issues in the country's political socioeconomic life has risen. This was promoted in many ways by creation of the institution of political information specialists, and activation of the work of agitation collectives. In the last decade the number of political information specialists and agitators in the capital increased by a factor of 1.5. A broad range of executives, engineers, and technicians was encouraged to participate in this work, which promoted a rise in the effectiveness of oral political agitation. Today more than 3,000 speakers, political information specialists, and agitators are conducting mass agitation work in the labor collectives and at the places of residence. Most of them are communist and Komsomol members with a higher and a secondary special education. Implementing the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Heightening the Role of Oral Political Agitation in Fulfillment of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress,"¹⁰ the city committee, the party rayon committees, and the primary party organizations of Moscow have improved their work with personnel conducting oral political agitation, and they have taken steps to improve the instruction offered to agitators. This purpose is served by 200 reference and information centers created at major enterprises and in institutions.

Relying upon the traditions of oral political agitation developed by the CPSU, the party organizations are constantly enriching its arsenal with new forms and methods, and raising its ideological-theoretical level. As an example

the practice of certifying agitators and political information specialists has become firmly entrenched. In just the last 2 years the party committees certified 40 percent of this category of active ideological workers. The practice of organizing the work of agitators on the basis of personal creative plans enjoyed extensive spread. Discussion, at party committee conferences and party meetings, of reports by communists on their participation in mass political work has become part of the system. City-wide report, political briefing and discussion days have been established, and a more-effective system of briefing and training specialists in oral political agitation has been organized.

One of the main prerequisites of integrated indoctrination is continuity of ideological-political work in both productive and nonproductive spheres. Production was and continues to be the main base of indoctrination. However, the environment within which people live also plays an important role in formation of the personality. The city committees, the rayon CPSU committees, and the enterprise, organization, and institution party committees increased their attention to organizing mass political work in residential areas, and they are persistently seeking new forms and methods of such work that might be more effective.

Ideological commissions created in recent years to coordinate ideological indoctrination in labor and school collectives and at places of residence have become more active. Such committees, which are headed by the secretaries of the rayon CPSU committees, operate in all of the rayon party committees. Good experience has been accumulated in this regard by the Oktyabr'skiy, Sevastopol'skiy, Kiyevskiy, Cheremushkinskiy, and Dzerzhinskiy rayons. Over 600 similar commissions have been formed in the city's microdistricts and assigned to the party organizations of the enterprises and institutions.

Study of the composition of Moscow's residents, investigation of the social characteristics of the microdistricts, and analysis of public opinion are helping us to structure political agitation with a consideration for the unique features of different population groups.

City-wide political days taking the form of "Lenin Fridays" and question-and-answer evenings, during which executives from city and rayon organizations and speakers from the party committees address the enterprises and the microdistricts, and during which information and propaganda conferences are organized, have become firmly entrenched. Much significance is attached to utilizing forms of political work which promote development, within the city's residents, of the ability to consciously oppose the intrigues of bourgeois, revisionist, and Zionist propaganda, and to counter any unhealthy rumors. Complying with the CPSU Central Committee decree on improving ideological work, the city party committee is making an effort to see that every communist would participate actively in political indoctrination at his place of residence, and that he would always actively fight for compliance with the norms of socialist community and against all manifestations of alien viewpoints and morals no matter where he is.

The collectives of the leading enterprises, and mainly of those referred to as model enterprises, have accumulated valuable experience in working with members of labor collectives at their places of residence. Thus the Automatic Lines Plant imeni 50-Letiye SSSR compiled, on the basis of sociological studies, a "Social Profile" of the microdistrict in which more than 40 percent of the enterprise's workers reside. A public council created by the party committee studied the composition of the residents, their interests, and their needs. Special attention is devoted to work with young adults and adolescents. This work is being done by agitator-teachers from among the best laborers and active propaganda specialists. Information conferences and concerts organized in microdistricts by agitation teams have recommended themselves favorably, as have addresses to the public in agitation areas by party, soviet, and business executives. Such meetings make it possible to keep Muskovites regularly informed of all that is new in the life of the capital, to study the wishes and needs of the residents, and to efficiently satisfy them.

Organization of competitions for exemplary home, access road, and apartment is an effective way to raise the social activity of the public. An important role is played in this by housing operation office and house committee communists, and by home and access road councils.

Understandably, success in work with the public depends in many ways on presence of the appropriate material-technical base. There are more than 295 operating clubs and palaces of the culture, more than 4,000 libraries, 66 museums, 50 parks of culture, and more than 1,000 Red nooks and clubs in residential areas in Moscow. In absolute terms, these are not small figures. However, considering that there are now more than 8 million persons living in the capital, we need many more of them. In the next five-year plan we will significantly broaden the material-technical base for mass political and cultural indoctrination in residential areas in accordance with the basic directions of Moscow's socioeconomic development, approved by the Moscow City CPSU Committee.

Lecture propaganda is a tested ideological weapon of the CPSU. The Communist Party devotes constant attention to improving its forms and methods. Clear evidence of this can be found in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Status of and Measures for Improving Lecture Propaganda."¹¹ Guiding itself by the directives and recommendations contained within the decree, the Moscow city party organization did a significant amount of work to raise the effectiveness of lecture propaganda and to strengthen its tie with life and with the affairs of the labor collectives.

Significant quantitative and qualitative changes occurred in the conduct of lectures in the past decade. The number of lectures given increased. While in 1969 party committee lecturers gave 20,000 lectures, and while lecturers of the Znaniye Society gave 553,000, in 1979 the figures were 38,000 and 879,000 respectively. City-wide public political readings dedicated to the most important events in the life of the party and people have become traditional. Thus on the eve of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth the

Moscow City CPSU Committee, the AUCCTU, the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and the governing board of the All-Union Znaniye Society organized readings on the topic "The Work of Lenin Lives on and Conquers."¹² Presently more than 2,000 lecture functions are conducted in the city every day. They are conducted by party committee lecture groups staffed by more than 4,000 communists, as well as by 90,000 members of the Moscow city organization of the Znaniye Society. Three hundred eighty academicians and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and thousands of professors, doctors, assistant professors, and candidates of sciences have been encouraged to participate in the lectures. Permanently operating forms of lecture propaganda such as peoples universities, lecture cycles, special-topic lecture courses, and film lectures have enjoyed widespread acceptance. They make up three-fourths of all functions. These cycles and lecture courses are attended by 3.7 million Muskovites. The topical orientation of lecture propaganda has changed noticeably. The content of the lectures is now tied in more closely with the concrete tasks of communist development. For example more than 160,000 lectures were devoted to economic issues in 1979, as opposed to 100,000 in 1969. More lectures are now being given on the problems of communist indoctrination and the struggle against bourgeois, revisionist, and Zionist ideology. The extent to which scientific-technical knowledge and advanced skills are publicized increased significantly. For example the size of the audience at the Moscow Palace of Scientific-Technical Propaganda has tripled. Its functions are attended by more than 600,000 persons each year. Peoples universities of culture, the number of which is rising with every year, enjoy special popularity. Thus in the 1979-1980 school year there are 1,250 of them, with an audience of more than 400,000.

More than 60 new lecture cycles accounting for the needs of different groups of laborers and categories of the public were created in the last 2-3 years in compliance with the requirements of an integrated approach to indoctrination. Special attention was devoted in this case to improving the content and form of lecture propaganda for the young, particularly oral journals, roundtable discussions, and question-and-answer evenings. Moscow has 335 functioning young peoples universities attended by 68,000 students, 1,300 permanently operating oral journals, and more than 800 film lecture offices and film clubs. One thousand seven hundred sixty youth-oriented lecture cycles have been created. They have a permanent enrollment of 181,000 persons. Work is being done together with the Main Administration of Vocational and Technical Education of the Moscow City Executive Committee to provide occupational orientation to secondary school students. In 1979 the quantity of youth-oriented functions increased by more than 30 percent in comparison with 1977. A unified lecture planning system is being introduced extensively.

Lecturer training and refresher training are constantly improving, and the lecture staff is getting better. An additional 4 lecturer skill universities and 26 young lecturer schools have been created in the capital, and the network of permanently operating seminars and advisory offices has been expanded. There are 1 city and 24 rayon lecturer skills universities with an audience of 4,000 students, and the 118 young lecturer schools are attended by 14,000 persons.

Public information and propaganda resources are the party's mighty tool in the great and complex task of shaping the new man, in the ideological struggle against the world of capitalism. Owing to the daily attention of the CPSU Central Committee the influence these resources have on economic, scientific, and cultural development and on all public life has risen even more in recent years. Moscow is a clear example of this. In the last 10 years much has been done in the capital to develop the press, radio and television broadcasting, publishing, and bookselling, and party management of such operations is improving. A new printing complex outfitted with modern equipment for offset newspaper printing went into operation in 1975 at the "Moskovskaya Pravda" Publishing House of the Moscow City Committee and Moscow Committee of the CPSU. This made it possible to increase the number of copies of city newspapers published: MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA--from 370,000 to 525,000, VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA--from 500,000 to 630,000, MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS--from 110,000 to 155,000 copies. The city publishes 138 large-edition newspapers with single editions of more than 300,000 copies, and 120 factory-plant radio broadcasting editorial boards are operating in the city.

Television and radio broadcasting are continuing their development. In the last 10 years the number of radio relay points in the capital almost doubled. More than 750,000 families possess three-program receiver systems. A master plan for development of the city's radio relay network to the year 1900 [sic] has been written and is being successfully implemented.

There is an average of more than one periodical publication received by subscription for every Muskovite. The total annual volume of books and pamphlets published by the "Moskovskiy rabochiy" Publishing House of the Moscow City Committee and the Moscow Committee of the CPSU increased from 9.5 million to 14.3 million copies.

The number of book stores increased by 35 percent, mainly in areas of new buildup. Presently there are more than 200 of them. Each year the city sells over 90 million copies of books, pamphlets, and albums. In this case one out of every five of the purchased publications deals with sociopolitical subjects. The network of enterprises of the city's Soyuzpechat' agency has also enjoyed development.

Cultural institutions, the number of which is constantly growing in the capital, are an important element of the system for ideological indoctrination of the laborers. In the last 10 years 12 clubs have been put into operation. They include the palaces of culture of the Bearing Plant No 1, the Motor Vehicle Plant imeni Leninskiy Komsomol, the Prozhektor Plant, the aviation institute, and others. During this same period the material base of the capital's library network improved. More than 50 new libraries were opened just in areas of mass residential buildup alone.

Over 500,000 lectures and reports are given during the year in cultural-educational institutions; these functions are attended by more than 30 million persons. More than 6 million persons take advantage of the services of the

capital's libraries. About 30 million people visit the museums and exhibition galleries throughout the year.

Cultural institutions play an important role in moral and esthetic indoctrination of the Muskovites, helping to broaden their political and cultural outlook. In addition to traditional forms of operation, the clubs offer evenings dedicated to labor glory, to the working class, to the honor of veterans of labor, to holidays of the workers' dynasty, and so on. In the future the capital is to create cultural centers in every microdistrict and allocate space in all new residences for work with children and adolescents.

Constant improvement of the work being done by palaces of culture, clubs, and libraries, and enlargement of their role in indoctrination of Moscow's residents are an important task in addition to strengthening the material base. We must make better use of the great possibilities offered by cultural-educational institutions.

Indoctrination of Muskovites in labor-associated fields is also proceeding in inseparable association with ideological-political indoctrination.

As a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution our country has undergone profound political, economic, and social transformation. The transfer of the means of production to the laborers, their liberation from the yoke of exploitation, enactment of the right to work, elimination of unemployment, attraction of the masses to communist development, utilization of the principles of material interest and moral stimuli, and continuous improvement of the level of general education and occupational training and the welfare of the people have created the conditions for a transition to new labor discipline, to a conscious attitude toward labor.

In the conditions of socialism, labor has become voluntary, free, and creative. This is work for oneself, for one's society.

The selfless labor of millions of Soviet people coupled with party guidance is insuring successful implementation of decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, and fulfillment of the assignments of the 10th Five-Year Plan. Owing to this the economic and defensive power of our country is growing increasingly stronger, and the cultural and material standard of living of the people is rising.

The labor of millions of Soviet people is constantly being enriched with a qualitatively new content in the process of communist development, as a result of the tremendous activity of the party to indoctrinate the masses, to raise their political and cultural-technical level, to accelerate scientific-technical progress, and to improve working and living conditions. It already embodies many traits of communist labor. It is transforming more and more from a means of existence into the primary vital need of the healthy body. For millions of Soviet people, labor has become the object of all life,

the principal yardstick of the individual's merits. Soviet people deeply recognize that building communism means increasing, by their labor, the material and cultural wealth of our society. Cases of mass labor heroism and the yearning to work better and more productively have become commonplace. The Soviet people have a highly developed awareness of personal responsibility for production affairs, for their improvement, and for continuous multiplication of public wealth.

This can be seen from the example of the capital. About 95 percent of Moscow's laborers participate in socialist competition. They display a creative approach to their work, and they serve as initiators and organizers of the introduction of patriotic initiatives and all that is new and progressive. Muskovites associate their struggle for greater labor productivity with the struggle for hard work and product quality, for economy and thrift, for production effectiveness, and for the fullest possible use of reserves.

We can already witness some results. Over the last few years all of the capital's industrial enterprises have been fulfilling their annual product sales assignments. Moscow is one of the winners of the all-union socialist competition for greater production effectiveness and work quality, and for successful fulfillment of the state plan for economic and social development of the USSR in 1979. Practically the entire increase in industrial production is being achieved due to a rise in labor productivity. Production costs are constantly decreasing.

As we know, whether or not we can raise effectiveness and quality depends on many factors--from ones associated with the scientific-technical level of production to those involving the occupational skills of the worker. Party organizations are concentrating the attention of collectives and of every laborer on problems such as how to make better use of existing productive capacities and accelerate introduction of new ones, how to raise labor productivity and product quality, and how to insure a maximal return from every invested ruble, and from every unit of equipment.

Qualitative indicators are assuming an increasingly larger place in the pledges adopted by participants of the socialist competition and in the initiatives of the leading producers. We can name well-known initiatives such as "A Worker's Guarantee for a Five-Year Plan of Quality," which began at the Plant imeni Vladimir Il'ich, "Engineering Support to the Worker Initiative" started by workers of the Motor Vehicle Plant imeni Likhachev, "High Quality and Effectiveness of the Labor of Researchers in the 10th Five-Year Plan," and others.

A competition to raise labor productivity on the basis of personal creative plans following the experience of the Dinamo Plant has assumed broad scope in the capital, as has the competition for spreading multiple-machine servicing. All of this is promoting improvement of labor organization, reduction of losses and unproductive expenditures of working time, and reinforcement of labor discipline.

As with all laborers of our country, Muskovites declared 1980 to be a year of intense Leninist work. Guiding themselves by decisions of the November (1979) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the premises and conclusions stated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the plenum, they initiated a broad socialist competition for an honorable welcome to the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and for successful fulfillment of the plan for 1980 and the 10th Five-Year Plan as a whole. More than 300,000 workers and 9,000 teams, sections, and shops have pledged to complete their five-year plan assignments by this noteworthy date. An initiative by collectives of the capital's leading enterprises to hold a mass communist subbotnik on 19 April dedicated to the Lenin jubilee and to mark it with highly productive labor has enjoyed broad support. About a thousand production collectives have decided to work with economized raw materials and electric power, manufacturing products worth tens of millions of rubles.

The new nature of labor, which is becoming the most important source of ideological-moral development of the personality, is clearly manifesting itself in the movement for a communist attitude toward labor. The party organization of Moscow shows constant concern for its further development.

The further we advance our development of the new society, the more communist forms of labor there must be. At the present stage subbotniks and voskresniki are the principal form of unpaid labor, during which people work voluntarily without compensation for the good of the society. A communist attitude expresses itself in day-to-day practice as a struggle for high labor productivity, for quality and effectiveness, and for growth in other indicators. If labor is to transform from an obligation into a need, it is important to concern ourselves with changing its content, to introduce mechanization and automation more broadly, and to eliminate manual and hard processes and operations. It would be no less important to continuously improve the working conditions and life of the laborers. Much has been done and is being done in Moscow in this regard.

Production is undergoing reconstruction and reequipment, new machine tools, machines, mechanisms, and progressive production processes are being introduced, and measures to reduce the level of manual and unskilled labor are being implemented on a large scale at the enterprises and in the organizations of the capital under the guidance of party committees. In just 3 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan more than 8 billion rubles worth of fixed capital has been put into operation in Moscow. This is 1.3 times more than in the same period of the previous five-year plan. Combined with successive scientific-technical renewal of the capital's industry, development of the labor initiative of the Muskovites has resulted in almost a doubling of labor productivity in the last 10 years.

The movement for the "model enterprise" title, in which thousands of labor collectives are participating, has great significance to labor indoctrination in Moscow. Fifty enterprises, organizations, and institutions in the city have already earned this title. They include the Khromatron and special

alloys plants, the Cherenushki Production Association, Taxi Pool No 8, Children's City Hospital No 3, the Museum imeni V. I. Lenin, and a number of other collectives. The experience and successes of model enterprises is broadly publicized.

Defining the role and significance of moral indoctrination, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated the following in his Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th CPSU Congress: "Nothing elevates the personality more than an active life position, a conscious attitude toward public duty, where the unity of word and deed becomes a daily rule of behavior. Developing such a position is the objective of moral indoctrination."¹³

Problems associated with nurturing high spiritual and moral qualities in the people and fighting against manifestations of alien viewpoints and morals occupy a large place in the work of the Moscow city party organization. High political awareness, deep devotion to party ideals, and high citizen's and labor activity are typical of the absolute majority of the capital's residents. At the same time the city still witnesses cases of antisocial manifestations--deceit, violations of labor discipline, misappropriations, drunkenness, and hooliganism. A certain proportion of the population carries religious prejudices. There still are people whose way of life and philosophy fail to satisfy the requirements of communist morality.

Moscow's party, soviet, and other organizations are doing a great deal of work to unmask viewpoints and morals alien to our society. Discussion of the draft "The Moral Principles of a Resident of a Model Communist City" in all of the capital's collectives played an important role in indoctrination. It provided a new impetus to all ideological work in the city. Thus more than 5,000 laborers took part in discussion of this document at the Moscow Tabulating Machine Plant. More than 50 remarks and suggestions were submitted to the party committee.

Formation of sensible material and spiritual needs in the people and the struggle against consumerism are an inseparable part of ideological-moral indoctrination. Today, during a time in which welfare is improving with every year, it is especially important to infuse the people, and reinforce in their consciousness, a correct impression of life's values, to persuasively explain that no matter how sure it is, material security cannot by itself create a full, substantial life, that material satisfaction is and must be the basis for even greater expansion of spiritual needs, of the development of the capabilities and talents of each individual.

Representatives of many of our country's nationalities live and work in the capital, and there is a constant stream of large numbers of foreigners. The Olympic Games, which will be visited by tens of thousands of people from abroad, are coming nearer. The city's party organization is devoting a great deal of attention to international indoctrination of the Muskovites, viewing this to be one of the most important directions of its ideological activities.

Problems associated with ideological and moral indoctrination are acquiring special significance in the present situation, considering that the class struggle in the world arena is growing keener. Our ideological enemies are utilizing increasingly more refined forms of influence upon the consciousness of the Soviet people, and they are seeking various sorts of deviants and morally loose people. Efforts are being made to undermine patriotism, communist conviction, and the collectiveness of the USSR's citizens, to counter their high moral qualities with bourgeois individualism, private ownership psychology, money-grubbing, skepticism, indifference to public affairs, and an anti-Soviet attitude.

The enemies of socialism are doing everything they can to destroy the moral-political unity of the Soviet society. Considerable assets are allocated for this purpose. All forces of reaction, from the imperialists and their Chinese accomplices to the revisionists and Zionists--are uniting and coordinating their actions under the flag of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

It is clear that these intrigues are fated to failure in the end. However, because they are increasing in intensity, all party and social organizations and ideological workers must display high political alertness, and the efficiency of communist indoctrination must be constantly raised.

The city party organization attaches important significance to nurturing a keen class sense in the Muskovites, a deep understanding of the indisputable advantages of real socialism, and the readiness to repel all of its enemies and defend its achievements. In recent years the capital has assumed the practice of holding seminars and conferences criticizing anticommunism, anti-Sovietism, and international Zionism. The number of lecture offices and peoples universities specializing in these problems has risen, and their methods and scientific basis have improved. A number of training aids on problems associated with the struggle against bourgeois propaganda have been published to help the ideological workers.

All of these and other forms of ideological indoctrination are aimed at strengthening the ideological steadfastness of the people, especially the young, and developing their ability to withstand all forms of bourgeois influence and hostile propaganda.

Moscow's party organizations are doing a significant amount for communist indoctrination of the laborers and the people of the city. The party teaches us to evaluate all activities, and indoctrination activities first of all, not by quantitative but rather by qualitative indicators, on the basis of what sort of influence such activities have upon the state of affairs. The requirements imposed on the level and effectiveness of indoctrination are constantly growing. That which was good yesterday will no longer satisfy us tomorrow. We have much to do to eliminate formalism in indoctrination, which is still evident in the practice of some party organizations. Educational measures do not always reach the concrete individual yet. Sometimes ideological workers work little with those who need

their help most of all. We must insure a universal and daily attentive and tactful attitude toward the people, and we must uproot bureaucracy, indifference, and formalism.

The main prerequisite for this is higher effectiveness of ideological indoctrination, significant improvement of the style and methods of party, soviet, and social organizations and labor collectives in this area, based on a close unity of ideological-political, labor, and moral indoctrination, with a consideration for the unique features of different groups of laborers. The CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Indoctrination" has tremendous fundamental significance to the Moscow city party organization, and to all of our party.

Examining the progress in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee decree, interpreted as a long-range program of action, the city party organization is directing its efforts at raising the effectiveness and quality of organizational and political work in the masses. This work is growing more intense at the threshold of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 400.
2. Brezhnev, L. I., "Leninskim kursom. Rech'i i stat'i" [Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles], Vol 5, Moscow, 1976, pp 548-549.
3. "On the 110th Anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's Birth." CPSU Central Committee decree dated 13 December 1979, Moscow, 1980, pp 10-11.
4. See "On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Indoctrination." Decree of the CPSU Central Committee dated 26 April 1979, Moscow, 1979, pp 3-16; Suslov, M. A., "Delo vsej partii. Doklad na Vsesoyuznom soveshchanii ideologicheskikh rabotnikov 16 oktyabrya 1979 g." [An Affair of the Entire Party. Report to the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers, 16 October 1979], Moscow, 1979, pp 3-38.
5. See "Materialy XXIV s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 24th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1971, p 44.
6. See "Problemy kompleksnogo osushchestvleniya zadach kommunisticheskogo vospitaniya v svete resheniy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Problems in Integrated Completion of the Tasks of Communist Indoctrination in Light of Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1978.
7. "On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Indoctrination," p 10.

8. Party Archives of the Institute of Party History of the Moscow City Committee and Moscow Committee of the CPSU (referred to subsequently as the MPA), f. 4, op. 160, d. 18, l. 154; MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 16 October 1979.
9. See MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 16 October 1979.
10. See "Spravochnik partiynogo rabotnika" [Party Worker's Handbook], Issue 18, Moscow, 1978, pp 242-247.
11. See "Spravochnik partiynogo rabotnika," Issue 19, Moscow, 1979, pp 358-361.
12. See PRAVDA, 16 January 1980.
13. Brezhnev, L. I., "Mirovym kursom. Rech' i stat'i," Vol 5, p 537.

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REGIONAL

ALIYEV ARTICLE ON AZERBAIJAN RECEIVING ORDER OF LENIN

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 80 p 2

[Article by G. Aliyev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan: "Fulfilled Ahead of Schedule!"]

[Text] The Azerbaijan SSR has been awarded the Order of Lenin for the great successes which it has achieved in the implementation of the 25th CPSU decisions on the development of the national economy, and for the fulfillment--ahead of schedule--of the Tenth Five-Year Plan assignments for industrial and agricultural production. L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, warmly and sincerely congratulated the workers of the republic on this great labor victory. There is a feeling of joy and enthusiasm which arises from the fact that this success has been achieved on the eve of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birthday and the 60th anniversary of the Azerbaijan SSR and the formation of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan.

The name of Lenin, the founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, is inseparable from the history of the revolutionary movement and the victory of Soviet power in Azerbaijan. The establishment of socialism on Azerbaijan soil and the development of the economy and culture of our republic are inextricably linked with the name of Lenin. The Azerbaijan of today is the embodiment of the great leader's teachings. His ideas illuminate for us the path of creative endeavor in the building of communism. And the fulfillment--ahead of schedule--of the Tenth Five-Year Plan targets is a reflection of the unshakeable loyalty of the republic's working people to the teachings of V.I. Lenin.

The Motherland's award inspires us to work for new achievements; it increases our strength and energy. The working people of the republic have accepted it as an expression of high trust by the Leninist party,

and as a new manifestation of the constant attention and concern shown by the CPSU Central Committee, the CC Politburo, the Soviet government and by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally for Azerbaijan, for the development of its economy, culture, and for the welfare and happiness of the Azerbaijan people.

The path to this labor victory was not easy. In the recent past the republic's economy lagged behind significantly in terms of the union-wide indicators. Speaking in Baku in October 1979, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out substantial inadequacies in the national economy, a low rate of growth in industrial production and the poor use of reserves for increasing crop yields and the productivity of animal husbandry. At that time a goal was set before the party organization and the working people of the republic--to overcome the economic lag and to ensure the accelerated development of the national economy. Today it can be said that this goal has been reached.

An economic lag of long-standing has been overcome, a steady increase in the production of industrial and agricultural output has been achieved and the qualitative indicators in all branches of the national economy have been significantly improved. In 10 years the republic's per capita income has increased 1.7-fold. In the years 1970-1979 industrial production increased 2.2-fold, and gross agricultural production increased 2.1-fold. In 10 years 15 billion rubles were invested in the economy of Azerbaijan, this is more than was invested in the preceding 20 years.

In terms of scale and scope the Tenth Five-Year Plan will occupy a special place in the chronicle of Soviet Azerbaijan. High and steady annual rates of economic development have been achieved. The contribution of the Azerbaijan SSR to the development of a unified national economic complex has increased significantly. It took only four years to fulfill the five-year plan in terms of the growth rate for national income, which, as is well known, is a general indicator for the effectiveness of public production. During this period the republic's national income increased 32.5 percent, as opposed to the targeted 22 percent. The total public product increased 32 percent, while the plan called for 24.5 percent.

Industrial production is expanding at a high rate. It increased in one year by an average of 8.1 percent. Moreover, the weight of every percentage point increased 1.5-fold in comparison with the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The state five-year plan for the total volume of industrial production was fulfilled two months ahead of schedule. By the end of 1980 above-plan output worth 1.5 billion rubles will have been produced. The rate of growth in industrial production will amount to 47 percent, as opposed to 39 percent, which was the target set by the five-year plan.

The process of improving the structure of industry is taking place at an intensive pace. As a result, the volume of production in those sectors which determine scientific and technical progress, increased 1.6-fold.

Those sectors which produce consumer goods are developing at a rapid rate. The average annual rate of growth here amounted to 10.4 percent, as opposed to 8.6 percent in the Ninth Five-Year Plan, and during the five-year plan as a whole the output of consumer goods will have increased 62.2 percent instead of the targeted 58.4 percent.

It is extremely important that the success which has been achieved is the result primarily of intensive factors in the development of the economy. A great deal of work has been carried out at enterprises in order to improve the organization and technology of production and to automate and mechanize it; thanks to this work, labor productivity in industry increased 21.5 percent in four years, and in the five-year period the growth will amount to 28 percent, which is greater than the plan target.

A significant amount has also been done to improve the quality of production. The volume of goods produced with the Seal of Quality has increased 13-fold, and it now amounts to 15.3 percent of the total, as opposed to 1.3 percent of the total in 1975.

The fact that the five-year plan targets for industry have been met ahead of schedule constitutes a victory for the glorious working class of Azerbaijan. The collectives of more than 400 factory units, brigades and sectors, and about 15,000 outstanding workers have met the targets of this anniversary Tenth Five-Year Plan in 2.5 to 3 years, and they now working on quotas for 1984-1985. More than 5,000 shock workers of industry and the collectives of more than 200 departments, shifts, sectors and brigades are preparing to report that they have realized two five-year plans by the Leninist anniversary.

The workers in agriculture have achieved great success in the implementation of the party's agrarian policy and the decisions of the July (1978) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. As long ago as 1978 they exceeded the level of gross output planned for 1980. In four years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan the amount of agricultural output was 10 percent greater than the total amount produced during the Ninth Five-Year Plan and 50 percent greater than produced during the Eighth Five-Year Plan. The average annual growth in the volume of agricultural output--in comparison with the years 1971-1975--amounted to 40 percent, with a plan target of 21 percent for the entire five-year period.

Every year large socialist obligations for the sale to the state of all types of agricultural products (including animal products) have

been fulfilled and overfulfilled. The five-year plan targets for the sale of grain, vegetables and fruit were met in four years.

Agricultural crop yields are growing steadily. For example, the grain yield was 10.9 quintals on average during the years of the Eighth Five-Year Plan; in the Ninth Five-Year Plan it was 13.8, and in 1979 the yield reached 22.2 quintals. Grain farming, which used to be unprofitable, has become one of the highest income branches of agriculture. The indicators for the development of cotton-growing are even more significant. The average cotton yield was 30.8 quintals last year.

The republic has become one of the nation's largest suppliers of grapes. In the first four years our vine growers produced more than 3.5 million tons of grapes.

The production of fruit, tobacco, tea leaves, melons, potatoes, silkworm cocoons is growing from year to year. Those engaged in animal husbandry also coped successfully with the targets of the first four years. The number of cattle and poultry of all types has increased; the average milk yield has increased 2.4-fold in comparison with 1969, and the weight of cattle turned over to the state has increased by nearly 30 percent. The concentration and specialization of agricultural production was an important precondition for the successes which have been achieved.

In the Tenth Five-year Plan all forms of transportation and communications have received further development. Capital construction has acquired an unprecedented scale. During the years 1976-1979 more than 7 billion rubles were directed into the development of the national economy; this is 1.4-fold more than was spent during the first four years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The amount of fixed capital put into operation was 1.5-fold more than the level in the respective period during the previous five-year plan. The following have been built and handed over for use: 48 major new enterprises and 29 production units, more than 30 state and inter-farm animal-raising complexes and poultry factories.

Since the start of the five-year plan the following have been built: residential buildings with a total area of 5.5 million square meters, schools with places for 150,000 students, children's preschool institutions with 18,000 places, a large number of hospitals, polyclinics and facilities for commercial and cultural purposes. The material well-being of the working people is steadily increasing.

The successes of Azerbaijan, like the successes of every Soviet republic, are part of the over-all achievements of the entire country. They have as their basis the unified, socialist national economic complex, the mutual assistance and cooperation of the peoples of the USSR.

One of the decisive factors predetermining the republic's achievements has been the strengthening of the organizational and ideological activities

and the improvement of the work style and methods of the party, Soviet, economic, trade union and Komsomol organizations and the raising of the level of the political and labor activities of the masses. The following factors have contributed to the creation of a healthy, and serious moral-psychological situation: the broad development of criticism and self-criticism; a respectful, benevolent, but at the same time a demanding and exacting attitude toward personnel, the strengthening of discipline and responsibility and an uncompromising struggle against everything that is antithetical to communist morality, plus publicity for the measures which have been adopted.

For ten years in a row the republic has been awarded the traveling Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Union Central Trade Union Council and the Komsomol Central Committee. For the final year of the five-year plan some collectives have taken on even greater obligations and more intense counter plans. They have before them the fighting program of actions set out in the speeches of Comrade L.I. Breznev at the November (1979) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and an a meeting with the voters of the Baumanskiy Electoral District of Moscow, a program which is aimed at the further development of public production, and the consistent implementation of a course directed at improving efficiency and the quality of work.

The party organization of Azerbaijan sees that today its goal must be to make skilful use of the enthusiasm and serious mood of the masses, to mobilize their efforts for even more productive labor, for an intensified search for reserves, and the active elimination of inadequacies in order to provide on this basis for the further acceleration in the rate of economic development.

In industry we are attempting to ensure that there is further growth in labor productivity, and that all enterprises fulfill the plans for the delivery of goods in the proper variety; we are also striving for the an increase in the level of automation and mechanization of production processes. The five-year plan target for the growth of labor productivity is in general being overfulfilled. However, there are enterprises and sectors which are not meeting the targets for this important indicator. There are still many workers who are engaged in manual labor, and not all enterprises are fulfilling the plan in terms of the variety of goods being produced. Large reserves are available to improve the quality of output.

The rate of development of the republic's energy supplies and the production of electrical energy are lagging behind the ever growing demands of the economy. In the last ten years the consumption of electrical energy has increased 1.6-fold, but its production has increased only 1.4-fold. For this reason we shall accelerate the development of the energy base and the introduction of the planned power capacities.

In agriculture we are taking measures for the further specialization and concentration of production, for the improvement of yields, for the more

effective use of land and the improvement of output quality. Lands with saline soil must be put to agricultural use; land reclamation and irrigation must be further developed. Although there have been noticeable improvements in the development of animal-husbandry, the state of this important economic sector still does not meet present-day requirements. Focussing attention on animal-husbandry and increasing the productivity of state-owned cattle constitute one of the top-priority tasks of the republic's communists.

There are also quite a few inadequacies to be eliminated in capital construction; the plan for capital investments and construction and installation work must be fulfilled by all contracting organizations. The delays in certain major construction projects must be eliminated.

All of this was discussed in a pointed and self-critical manner at the plenums of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan in November and December of last year and in February of this year. There is a great deal that must be done to further improve the organizational-party and ideological work, to raise the level of economic leadership, to better organize production and to strengthen labor discipline.

The working people of Azerbaijan are loyal to their traditions; they are filled with resolve to reach new heights in the final year of the Tenth Five-Year Plan and to greet in a worthy manner the 110th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth and the forthcoming 26th CPSU Congress.

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REGIONAL

ALIYEV ADDRESSES CC BUREAU MEETING WITH VETERANS

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 17 Apr 80 p 1

[Text] The glorious veterans of the revolution, the Communist Party and labor have made a weighty contribution to the heroic chronicle of the struggle to establish and consolidate Soviet power in Azerbaijan and to build a socialist society. On the eve of two important anniversaries, the 110th birthday of V.I. Lenin and the 60th anniversary of Soviet Azerbaijan, a meeting was held on 15 April in the club imeni F.E. Dzerzhinskiy by the members of the Buro of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and a large group of party and labor veterans.

G.A. Aliyev, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan (CPA), spoke at the meeting, at which he was warmly received.

The Soviet people, and all progressive humanity, he said, are preparing to mark a great and joyful holiday, the 110th anniversary of the birth of our great leader and teacher, V.I. Lenin. Our Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic is getting ready for its 60th anniversary. And today's meeting between members of the Buro of the CPA Central Committee and veterans of the party and labor constitutes one of our great and important anniversary measures.

On behalf of the CPA Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the republic, G.A. Aliyev sincerely congratulated the veterans of the party and the heroes of the labor front on these important anniversaries--the 110th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth and the 60th anniversary of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Communist Party of Azerbaijan.

In preparing to celebrate the anniversary of the founding of the republic, Comrade Aliyev continued, we are reviewing the glorious path--equal to centuries--traveled in the 60 years of Soviet power, and we are summing up the results of our great achievements. And we look back to the sources of our happy and joyous life--the Great October

Socialist Revolution, which marked the beginning of a new era in the history of mankind, and to its leader and organizer, the great Lenin, the creator of the Communist Party and the founder of the world's first socialist nation.

The victory of Soviet power in Azerbaijan is inextricably linked with Great October and the name of V.I. Lenin, as are all of the republic's achievements over the 60 years and today's developed socialist society, which has been built in our country. The name of V.I. Lenin, as well as the great Russian people, and its proletariat are linked with the entire revolutionary struggle of the Baku proletariat, the communists and the working class of Azerbaijan, the struggle which led to the April 1920 victory of Soviet power on Azerbaijan soil and the establishment of the foundations of the radiant life which we have today.

In 60 years the working people of our republic have achieved truly historic successes. The face of the ancient Azerbaijan soil has changed unrecognizably. Powerful industrial complexes and a highly-developed, multi-sectored agriculture have been created, and a genuine cultural revolution has taken place. Today the Azerbaijan SSR has enormous scientific-technical, cultural and spiritual potential. As an equal among the fraternal republics of the Great Soviet Union--under the wise leadership of the Leninist party--it is successfully carrying out a program of communist construction.

In leafing through the pages of history, we pay tribute to all the generations of communists who fought for the victory and consolidation of Soviet power in Azerbaijan and for the construction of socialism on Azerbaijan soil. We pay the tribute of deep respect to those who fought in the underground, under conditions of cruel exploitation by czarism, to those on the barricades who provided at the cost of their own blood the victory of the socialist revolution, to those who carried out in the first years of Soviet power a decisive struggle against the internal counterrevolution and the foreign enemies of the young republic.

It is a joy to see in this hall our old comrades who more than 60 years ago linked their fate with the cause of the great Lenin, with October. And what happiness that for all these years we have marched together with the Soviet people and its party and today you continue to remain in formation and to conduct great and fruitful party-political work, to raise a young generation and to make a worthy contribution to the construction of a communist society.

All the generations of laboring people and the communists of the republic have made a large contribution to everything that has been created in the 60 years of Soviet power in Azerbaijan by the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the popular intelligentsia under the leadership of the party. But it is with a feeling of special gratitude that we

talk about the pioneers, the veterans of our glorious path. On this festive day, we extend to you, dear comrades, said Comrade Aliyev, sincere gratitude on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, the present generations of communists and of all the working people of the republic for your self-sacrificing labor, courage and steadfastness and for your great work in creating the republic party organization.

Today, continued Comrade Aliyev, we have veterans of labor present in this hall. We have here those who participated in the industrialization and collectivization in the first years of Soviet power, those who fought for the fulfillment of the first five-year plans, who demonstrated heroism and courage in industry and agriculture during the Great Patriotic War, who provided the front with everything necessary, who actively participated in the post-war restoration of the economy, and those who today ensure the fulfillment of the 25th CPSU Congress decisions, and have contributed an enormous amount of labor to the successful fulfillment of the Ninth and Tenth five-year plans, which have become Red Banner years for the Azerbaijan SSR.

You represent our valiant working class, kolkhoz peasantry and laboring intelligentsia, you are the pride and glory of the Azerbaijan people. Many thanks to you, dear comrades, for your heroic self-sacrificing labor, for your enormous contribution to the building of a new life, and for everything that you have done and are doing for the further development of the economy, science and culture of Soviet Azerbaijan.

We are greeting the 100th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth and the 60th anniversary of Soviet Azerbaijan with great achievements in labor, in the fulfillment of the assignments of the Tenth Five-Year Plan and of the tasks set forward in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the party Central Committee plenums, and in the reports and speeches of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev. In talking about this, Comrade Aliyev dwelt on the great successes which have been achieved in the six Soviet decades in all areas of socio-economic and cultural life of the republic, noting in particular the rapid development of the economy in the years since the 50th anniversary of Soviet Azerbaijan. The main results of the past decade, he emphasized, have included the establishment throughout the republic of the Leninist principles and norms of party and state life, the selection, distribution and indoctrination of personnel, the creation of a healthy moral-psychological atmosphere, and the conduct of a decisive and uncompromising struggle against various forms of abuse, against instances of petty bourgeois, private-property tendencies, and against manifestations of amorality which hamper our progress.

All our successes are the result first of all of the wise leadership of the Communist Party, the indestructible friendship, fraternity and mutual self-help of the union republics, the selfless assistance extended to the Azerbaijan people, as to all the other peoples of our country, by our older brother--the great Russian people. It is

the result of the constant attention and fatherly concern for the development of Azerbaijan shown by the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo, the Soviet government and by L.I. Brezhnev personally. The remarkable achievements of the Azerbaijan people in those 60 years are the vivid embodiment of the wise Leninist national policy, which is unflinchingly and persistently carried out by the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo, headed by the faithful successor to the Leninist cause, the outstanding leader of our party and state, the tireless fighter for peace on our planet--Comrade L.I. Brezhnev. The communists and working people of Azerbaijan, like all Soviet citizens, unanimously support and approve the wise domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state; they express unlimited gratitude and appreciation for the steady improvement in the welfare of the Soviet people, for the provision of peaceful conditions for creative labor, for the prevention of a new world war and for the strengthening of the international positions of the Soviet nation.

While talking about the republic's great successes, Comrade Aliyev at the same time pointed out existing inadequacies and unused reserves. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, he noted, always analyzes in a spirit of self-criticism the work which has been accomplished, and it focuses the attention of communists and of all the working people on the unsolved problems. This is the Leninist precept, the Leninist tradition, to which we are faithful and by which we will be steadfastly guided. It is essential for us to ensure the further improvement in the style and methods of our work and in the entire economic mechanism; it is essential for us to work to improve the effectiveness of production and the quality of output, and to make broader use of criticism and self-criticism.

Soviet Azerbaijan is entering its seventh decade. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, Comrade Aliyev assured the old communists and the labor veterans, would continue to do everything possible to help the Azerbaijan SSR achieve new successes in the development of the economy and culture and to shine even more brightly in the constellation of the Soviet republics. He expressed confidence that the working people of Azerbaijan will ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the responsible tasks, set by the party, in the national economic plans, and will mark the 26th CPSU Congress with new labor victories.

In conclusion, G.A. Aliyev once again sincerely thanked the party and labor veterans for their services and wished them good health, joyful holiday spirits and great new successes in the implementation of the magnificent designs of the party of Lenin.

The following people spoke at the meeting: Yu.G. Gadzhiev, a member of the CPSU since 1920 and a senior lecturer at the Azerbaijan Polytechnical Institute imeni Ch. Il'drym; M.S. Sultanov, a member of the CPSU

since 1921, a professor at the Institute of the National Economy imeni D. Buniatzade and an honored economist of the republic; V.V. Paramonov, an administrator at the Leninneft' Oil and Gas Extraction Board and an Azerbaijan SSR petroleum expert; S.A. Tagiyev, director of the No 190 High School in Baku; M. Kh. Khananov, a member of the CPSU since 1919 and a recipient of a special pension; veterans of the kolkhoz movement-- A.S. Godzhayev, a brigade leader at the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Babekskiy Rayon in of the Nakhichevanskaya ASSR, and F.O. Shikhiyeva, a member of the Oktyabr' Kolkhoz in Ismailinskiy Rayon; P.M. Nuriyev, a pensioner from Akhsu, recounted with emotion some unforgettable episodes in the heroic struggle for the victory and consolidation of Soviet power in Azerbaijan and the building of a new life. They talked with pride about the remarkable development of the republic in the 60 years under the banner of Great October in the fraternal family of the USSR peoples, and especially in the last decade, during which Azerbaijan has won the Order of the Red Banner.

The speakers expressed enormous gratitude to their native Communist Party, to its Leninist Central Committee, to the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, to the Soviet government and to Comrade L.I. Brezhnev personally for the constant attention to the development of the economy, the science and culture of Soviet Azerbaijan and for the fatherly concern for the party and labor veterans.

The speakers also expressed warm approval of the practical activities of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and for its Buro, and they stated that would continue to give all their strength, energy knowledge and experience to the cause of the party and the people and to teach the workers about the remarkable revolutionary and labor traditions of the older generations.

Those participating in the meeting included the following members of the Central Committee Buro of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan: K.M. Bagirov, A.I. Ibragimov, G. Kh. Ibragimov, A.G. Kerimov, V.S. Krasil'nikov, Yu.N. Pugachev, G.N. Seidov, S.B. Tatliyev, K.A. Khalilov, as well as candidate members of the Central Committee Buro of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, I.N. Askerov, Z.I. Guseynova and G.Sh. Efendiyev.

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REGIONAL

RASHIDOV ON ASSISTANCE TO NONCHERNOZEM

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[Article by Sh. R. Rashidov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, et al.: "In the Russian Nonchernozem: The Literary Post of OKTYABR'"]

[Text] On freight shipments arriving at the construction sites in the Nonchernozem, one can frequently see the return address "Tashkent," "Samarkand," "Minsk," "Vil'nyus." And at the construction sites themselves in the center of Russia there have appeared a large number of brigades that have come there from other republics, krays, and oblasts in the Soviet Union. This is the result of the actively extended assistance provided by the workers of Uzbekistan, Belorussia, Latvia, and Lithuania to the agricultural workers in the oblasts and autonomous republics of the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR.

How the fraternal cooperation formed at this nationwide construction site, which today is justifiably called the second virginlands, what has already been done, and what prospects are provided by the further buildup of the rates of the combined work, are discussed in the materials in this, the first issue of our post "In the Russian Nonchernozem."

We have asked Candidate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Sharaf Rashidovich Rashidov, to open this post.

The specific deeds of the people of Novgorod in transforming the land and achieving a further upsurge in the agricultural of the oblast, and the participation of the Uzbek construction workers and land-reclamation workers

in these deeds, are discussed by the director of the Volna Revolyutsii Sovkhoz, Z. N. Pavlova; chief of PMK [mobile mechanized column] Tashkent-1, V. S. Mimidiminov; and mechanizer at SPMK [specialized mobile mechanized column] Tashkent-5, Z. M. Shaydulin.

According to the Laws of Friendship and Brotherhood,
Sh. R. Rashidov, First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan

On the Russian expanses winter still holds sway, but the vegetable husbandrymen of Uzbekistan are already preparing the fields for the spring sowing. Every spring is an exciting time for the vegetable husbandrymen, but the current spring is a special one: it is the spring of the final year of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, a year that sums up the efforts of the Soviet nation in carrying out the stupendous plans that have been confirmed in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. Today the labor performed by the industrial and agricultural collectives is creative labor. It is linked with searches and discoveries. Thousands and thousands of Soviet citizens, having joined the nationwide socialist competition, are firmly resolved to complete their personal five-year assignments by the 110th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin. Speaking at the November 1979 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and discussing the chief trends in the organizational, mass-political, and ideological work as applicable to the current tasks in the national economy, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that one of these trends "is the complete extension of the socialist competition, its orientation upon qualitative indices, the fight to fulfill the counter plans."

The present-day scope of our economy, the realistic results of the combining of the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution are yielding their visible fruits. The successes achieved last year by the industrial and agricultural workers reveal in full measure the creative capabilities of our system.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government constantly and thoroughly engage in the development of agriculture. The rural areas are receiving a steady stream of new, improved technology, and much is being done to provide incentives for labor and to improve the everyday living conditions of the agricultural workers. A special place is occupied by the questions of land reclamation and the development of irrigated vegetable husbandry. At the May 1966 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, on the initiative of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, a long-term program for the reclamation and irrigation of the land and for the development of irrigated vegetable husbandry was adopted.

Carrying out the program set down by the party, the workers of Uzbekistan have achieved considerable success. The area of irrigated land in the republic currently constitutes more than 13 percent of the country's total

irrigated land. And this is not accidental, since the gigantic amount of reclamation and irrigation construction has been under way in the republic for decades.

Take, for example, the Golodnaya Step'. Arrival on its barren land was, in essence, a precursor and at the same time a continuation of the heroic epic of mastery of the virginlands of Kazakhstan and Siberia. Here too, in the Golodnaya Step', the creation of virginland sovkhozes, like any other important job that has been set down by the party, became a nationwide job. By the end of 1956 thousands of young men and women came to us in Uzbekistan on Komsomol trip tickets from Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic republics, and other parts of the country.

The mood and atmosphere of those days were conveyed very well by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his book *Teelina* [Virginland]. "The traveler will master the road" -- that is a good Eastern proverb," Leonid Il'ich writes. He recalled that proverb when discussing the way in which a few people at one time tried to frighten people: don't touch the virginland, they said, because, when mastering it, you might make mistakes, and then. . . . Leonid Il'ich cites in *Teelina* the Leninist evaluation of this position -- "the errorlessness of inaction." "The errorlessness of inaction -- that expresses it exactly! The simplest thing was to leave the treasure house of nature untouched, because then there would be absolutely no miscalculations. But we arrived in those ancient steppes with a profound faith in the power of human intelligence."

Soviet citizens were indeed victorious on the limitless expanses of Kazakhstan and Siberia and in the Golodnaya Step'. By 1956 the Golodnaya Step' produced 105,000 tons of cotton; in 1966, approximately 300,000 tons; and in 1979, 734,000 tons of cotton. And during the entire more than 20 years, the virginland sovkhozes of the Golodnaya Step' produced more than 4.2 million tons of cotton, more than a million tons of vegetables and cucurbit crops, and a large amount of meat and milk. The Golodnaya Step' today produces grain and silk cocoons, cantaloupes and watermelons, vegetables and grapes.

"The mastery of the Golodnaya Step' in Uzbekistan has been completed." Those words spoken by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at a meeting with the voters of the Baumanskiy Electoral District in the city of Moscow on 2 March 1979 evoked with a sense of lawful pride and emotional excitement the noble of the veterans of our virginland and went through the minds and hearts of all the workers in the republic. Those words convey the majesty of the exploit performed by the entire Soviet nation, the wisdom and foresight of the party in carrying out the Leninist agrarian policy.

A peculiarity of the mastery of the Golodnaya Step' was the fact that that mastery was carried out by industrial methods, in a comprehensive manner. A powerful base for the construction industry was created, and rail and motor roads, and electrical-transmission lines, were built. Parallel with

the mastery of the land, highly mechanized, well-appointed sovkhoses and workers' settlements were created, and many projects were constructed -- housing, children's preschool, and cultural-everyday institutions, hospitals, polyclinics, schools, technicums, and sports areas, and projects for the processing industry. Prefabricated reinforced-concrete structurals and a trough-type separating network found broad application in hydraulic construction.

The reclamation and irrigation construction which was extended on a tremendous scale in the republic considerably enriched the practice of mastering large areas of land. That experience has also proven to be invaluable today in resolving the program of developing the agriculture of the Nonchernozem, where the complete reclamation has become a leading link in the system of measures for converting the Nonchernozem into a zone of stable, guaranteed harvests.

Among the initiators of the sponsorship by the union republics of the oblasts and autonomous republics of the Nonchernozem zone are the workers in our republic. And this is completely understandable, since the mutual feelings of love and devotion exist between the peoples of our country.

Both during the years of the first five-year plans and during the period of the severe military ordeals, Soviet citizens were united by the great strength of internationalism, the spiritual kinship among our nations. During the years of the Great Patriotic War, together with the soldiers of Russia and the other fraternal republics, the warriors included the fighting men of Uzbekistan, for whom the entire Soviet Motherland was their homeland.

In the international family of nations, Soviet Uzbekistan grew and flourished. At the present time the republic has 1400 large-scale modern industrial enterprises. The volume of industrial production has increased by a factor of 176 since 1924. At the present time, the republic's enterprises in two days produce more industrial output than the republic produced during the entire year of 1924.

Our successes are the result not only of the selfless labor performed by the workers, kolkhoz members, and intellectuals of Uzbekistan, but also the result of the joint labor performed by the entire Soviet nation. Every ton of coal, steel, cotton, or crude oil contains the labor of people of various nationalities. And all our achievements became possible thanks to the socialist mutual assistance provided by the workers of absolutely all the nations and nationalities of the USSR, thanks to their indestructible political, socioeconomic, and ideological commonality.

Today our mature socialist society has at its disposal all the necessary prerequisites for drawing the nations even more closely together, and for achieving a qualitatively new level in their fraternal cooperation and solidarity. Under present-day conditions -- and our everyday life, the practice of the mature socialist society provides constant confirmation of this -- it is no longer simply a matter of the friendship of nations,

of which Soviet citizens have been justifiably proud and continue to be proud, but also the international unity of all the nations and nationalities of our country, a unity which has grown considerably, which has become well-tempered and indestructible.

In 1974, when the CPSU Central Committee adopted the historic decree entitled "Steps for the Further Development of the Agriculture in the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR," thousands of people from various cities and villages in Uzbekistan expressed their ardent desire to go to work in the Nonchernozem Zone. By November of the same year the first volunteers from Uzbekistan had arrived in Novgorodskaya Oblast.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan approved the patriotic initiative shown by the republic's reclamation experts in rendering sponsorship assistance in the carrying out of the broad program of transforming the land in the Nonchernozem Zone of the Russian Federation. A decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan defined the goals for the construction and installation operations for 1976-1980 in a volume of 210 million rubles.

Uzbekistan sent to the Nonchernozem Zone its best people, who possess a large amount of work experience and who have graduated from a good school of mastering the virginlands.

In January 1975, the first trainload of reclamation experts from Uzbekistan arrived at Utorgosh station. Young engineer V. S. Mimidiminov, who became the chief of the first specialized mobile mechanized column (PMK) Tashkent-1, joined the workers to unload onto the snow-covered platform the technology, equipment, and building materials. Then he formed the brigades and teams. . .

Currently PMK Tashkent-1, headed by V. S. Mimidiminov, is the best one in Novgorodskaya Oblast, and the famous drainage brigade that is headed by Tursunpulat Rasulov, even under winter conditions, constantly overfulfills its assignments for the laying of drainage systems. In their multinational collectives, as in a mirror, one sees reflected the unity of the nations of our country in labor plans and actions.

In the Nonchernozem Zone life has again brought together many construction workers who began their labor biography in the Golodnaya Step' and the Karshinskaya Step', on the lands of the Surkhan-Sherabad which at one time had been lifeless and untouched by human hands.

One pioneer in the offensive against the Golodnaya Step', Vasilii Ivanovich Reyentenkov, worked for more than 20 years as a leader of a brigade of bulldozer operators. He participated in the construction of all the canals in the Central Area of the Golodnaya Step' and now he is communicating his experience to the mechanizers of Ivanovskaya Oblast; chief of PMK-35, Ivanovirsovkhozstroy Trust, Aleksandr Petrovich Zadorozhnyy worked for a

long time in Golodnaya Step'. G. Ibragimov, leader of a brigade of cement workers, worked with Zadorozhnyy 15 years ago. At that time Ibragimov was building the Druzhba Sovkhoz in Golodnaya Step'. Currently Ibragimov's brigade is building a new sovkhov, which will also be named Druzhba, because everything that is being done today in the Nonchernozem Zone is being done according to the laws of the great friendship.

At the enterprises in the republic which are executing the production orders from the Nonchernozem Zone, young production workers are working according to the slogan "Let's fill the production orders from the Nonchernozem Zone ahead of time, with high quality and increased reliability," and the workers on the Central Asian Railroad are faithful to their slogan "Let's give the go-ahead signal to the production orders from the Nonchernozem zone!" All this is yet another confirmation of the fact that, for the workers of Uzbekistan, the implementation of the program of renewing the Russian Nonchernozem Zone has become a job that is near and dear to them.

The headquarters of the emissaries from Uzbekistan to the Novgorod land is the Uznovgorodvodstroy Trust. During the present five-year plan the trust's collective will have to execute construction-and-installation operations in the volume of 100 million rubles; to guarantee the introduction of drained land on an area of 42,000 hectares, and irrigated, on an area of 6000 hectares; to execute technical-cultivation operations on 25,000 hectares of land; and to build no less than 80,000 square meters of well-appointed housing. This will exert a substantial influence upon the oblast's grain balance, because, under conditions of the water-logged northwest of Russia, the reclamation of areas for sowing considerably increases the harvests. For example, in the Shimskiy Zavet Lenina Sovkhoz, where construction workers from Uzbekistan were carrying out reclamation operations, the harvest of grain crops constitute 41-42 quintals per hectare, and on the reclaimed land on the Volna Revolyutsii Sovkhoz the rye harvest on individual plots reach 52 quintals per hectare.

In Novgorodskaya Oblast, as in Ivanovskaya Oblast, new sovkhovs are being built. By the end of the five-year plan these sovkhovs are supposed to be activated. The Tashkentskiy Sovkhoz alone will produce as many early vegetables as were produced in 1975 by all the farms in Novgorodskaya Oblast.

In addition to industrial projects, the construction workers of Uzbekistan will erect in Novgorodskaya Oblast well-appointed workers settlements, in provision has been made for comfortable housing, kindergartens, stores, everyday-service facilities, sports centers, and houses of culture. In a word, the person living in the new settlement will have at his disposal in full measure everything that the city dweller has at his disposal today.

The new farms being built by the emissaries from our republic to Novgorodskaya and Ivanovskaya Oblasts are becoming a good example of the resolution of social problems, because the future of this land is linked with life on

new farms such as the Tashkentskiy and Druzhba Sovkhozes in Novgorodskaya Oblast and the Uzbekistan and Druzhba Sovkhozes in Ivanovskaya Oblast.

We are justifiably proud of the outstanding examples of truly fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance among all the nations and nationalities, all the republics, krays, and oblasts of our country. Dneproges and Turksib, the Fergana Canal and Komsomol'sk-na-Amure, the Ust'-Ilinskaya GES and ZapSIB, the virginlands and the Golodnaya Step', BAM and KamAZ -- all these are the real and majestic fruits of socialist internationalism. Today the Nonchernozem Zone has been the same kind of nationwide construction project, a second virginland.

The Generosity of the Transformed Land,
Z. N. Pavlova,
Director of the Volna Revolyutsii Sovkhoz,
Shimskiy Rayon, Novgorodskaya Oblast

I am standing on the edge of a broad field near the village of Medved', looking far into the distance and thinking about the fate of this land. Quite recently it was covered with stones, and "decorated" by tangled masses of alder trees and willow thickets. Over there, on a faraway plot, the bushes had made complete inroads, gobbling up the land every year. We had neither the forces nor the technology to stop that "green fire," to combat it. And so, during the postwar years, the farm's arable area was sharply reduced.

I do not know what would have happened to that field -- which we have now been convinced is so lavish -- if the party and state had not shown their great concern. The fundamental transformation of the ancient Nonchernozem Territory is already yielding its fruit. One can no longer recognize today our field, which previously had been subdivided into tiny little plots with miserly outlines. The reclamation experts have renewed the field, have removed the tangled bushes, removed the stones, and laid a drainage system that is connected with the ditches for the runoff of ground water. What used to be, in essence, worthless land has been converted into a large, even area that spreads over several hundreds of hectares. Keep working, grain-grower! Grow a rich harvest!

And it is not only this field that has been transformed to the point of unrecognizability. During recent years our sovkhaz received from the reclamation experts 1800 hectares of reclaimed land. All that land has not only been cultivated, but also has been drained by the most effective method -- closed drainage. Now 60 percent of the farm's plowed area is made up of reclaimed land. What is especially gratifying is the fact that not only has the alarming process of the reduction of the arable land been stopped completely, but, on the contrary, the amount of arable land has been expanded by more than 400 hectares. And this means additional tons of grain, a more stable fodder base, and a broad horizon for new agricultural crops.

In order to show what reclamation has given us, all one has to do is to direct one's attention to one of the main problems -- the use of agricultural technology. The farmer has been using for many years powerful tractors, combines, and other improved machines. But could he really do much on our tiny uncared-for plots that were filled with rocks? Not really, because we had plots where a tractor pulling a plow or a drill could not be used. What kind of quality could we have there? What kind of scientific agrotechnology? Consequently, there was a large amount of poor-quality work, and that fact, of course, influenced the harvest. Nor could one even think of the possibility of using highly efficient assemblies, or of using the technology by the group method. The mechanizer had to work all by himself, and that presented the administrators and the specialists on the farm with almost unresolvable tasks of providing services for the people and the technology in the field. Because it was impossible to assign to every tractor or combine a machinist with a mobile workshop, and you could not assign a personal chef. In a word, the land was poor and so the people also suffered excessive difficulties.

But now everything is completely different. It is as though the draining of the land has breathed new life into the occupation of the grain-grower, has provided the opportunity to organize labor in a new way, by noticeably facilitating it, and, which is probably especially important, to ennoble that work, to make it more attractive, more cultured.

At the same time the reclamation made strict demands upon the farm administrators and the agronomic service, and demanded of them an increase in the harvest yields, the reduction of expenditures to produce the harvests, and the improvement of its quality. Therefore, every time that we put into use the next hectares of drained land, it was necessary to think carefully about the quickest ways of recovering the money that had been invested. But we were also rushing ahead to the definite goal -- to provide the reclaimed field with its real owner, one who knows modern machinery, advanced technology, and the fundamentals of science. We understood that the kind of person who would be able to become that kind of owner was not the solitary tractor operator, but, rather, the large-scale completely mechanized team with its constant crop rotations, a team operating not seasonally, but year-round.

At the present time the sovkhos has three such teams. All the reclaimed land and the other arable areas on which technical-cultivation work has been performed have been assigned permanently to them. The teams have been allocated the necessary technology, mineral fertilizers, herbicides, and seeds. The system of paying for their labor is the team-rate-plus-bonus system.

The system without work orders, in the opinion of many people, is the most attractive one. The mechanizer no longer has the need to "chase hectares," since now he has a vital self-interestedness in the fulfillment of assignments based on cost accounting. These assignments include not only the quality of the work, but also the economical expenditure of fuel and

a thrifty attitude toward the technology.

Every year the economists compute for the teams their cost-accounting assignments with a consideration of the organic and chemical fertilizers applied to the fields, and the use of new and improved technology. M. S. Mikhalev's team, for example, has in its crop-rotation system more than 1200 hectares of fields. The mechanizers have been working together for many years, have studied all the plots well, and know their strong and weak points. After receiving the new reclaimed field, the link continues to cultivate it, strives to fertilize it better, and uses agroreclamation methods.

The draining of land not only has changed the system of using the technology, but also has affected every mechanizer, has forced him to improve his skills, to adopt the best experience, to lean on the strong shoulder of science. In this team the mechanizer receives the work order specifically for that sector which is most interesting to him as a person, where he will work with a sense of satisfaction, with the complete application of his efforts. The area of work specialization changes extremely slowly, and the members of the team successfully introduce the specialization.

The broad reclaimed field has, as it were, untied the mechanizer's hands, has opened up for him a road to creative labor. The highly skilled specialist now has space in which to develop, to show his best abilities. The best ones now are striving for that productivity that could not even be dreamed about 4-5 years ago. Here is a typical example. Our combine operator, Yuriy Aleksandrovich Ivanov, threshes 7000-7500 quintals of grain. The Order of the Red Banner of Labor is a well-deserved award in recognition of this labor exploit. But Yuriy Aleksandrovich would scarcely have risen to such a height if he had worked on small-sized, awkward fields. You cannot ignore the fact that at the present time he drives a piece of equipment that is more powerful than he used to -- a Niva combine. And yet, if there had not been any drained land, even the new technology would not have helped. High yields are also being achieved by combine operators P. S. Nikiforov, A. D. Potakhin, M. N. Panov, and others. On the reclaimed fields where drainage has been installed, they work by the detachment method. This method provides the opportunity for the auxiliary services to operate in a more precise manner: the technical service, and the cultural-everyday service.

With the introduction of new lands, there have been many gratifying changes on the sovkhos. And not only those that can be seen by the eye. We are gratified no less by the changes in people's attitude toward labor. Young peoples have been drawn to the occupation of mechanizer, which is so needed in rural areas. School graduates eagerly join the ranks alongside of their fathers. The number of dynasties is increasing in the sovkhos collective, as family teams operate the equipment. The sons of V. A. Soletskov, A. A. Glubkin, and A. N. Kondrat'yev, two sons of A. I. Matveyev, and many others, upon graduation, were given technology and now they are working independently. Moreover, the young people work with

great enthusiasm and compete with the veterans.

But it must be noted that the reclamation has also given us a number of problems that require solution. I recall the following discussion. Last year autumn-plowing expert A. I. Matveyev achieved the highest result in the oblast: he turned over more than 400 hectares of autumn plowing. We went out to the field, warmly congratulated the competition winner, and handed over the red pennant and prize. Everything was fine, and then Aleksandr Ivanovich suddenly said, "But I'm not completely satisfied with the result."

"Why?"

"Just look at the plot I'm working on. It's as broad as a steppe. But if I had another tractor -- not a DT-75, but, say, a Kirovets -- I could have plowed one and a half times more."

The mechanizer was right. The time had come when, on our fields, it was difficult for even a wheeled tractor to turn around. Now the reclamation experts have "assured" such an expanse that mighty Kirovets tractors can be started up at the same time. But, unfortunately, there aren't any. We have not been receiving them. For that reason the labor productivity of the mechanizers has not been growing at the rate at which it should be. True, we are not sitting around idle. We have been constructing couplings of drills and other soil-cultivating machinery, but if we had more powerful tractors, our effectiveness would be much greater.

We also need "stronger" technology in order to continue the work on the new fields, to take care of them. We could create a small detachment during the period between seasons, and that detachment could improve the sovkhos arable areas, could help the reclamation experts, and could carry out preparatory operations for the laying of drainage during the summer season.

At the present time the reclamation operations are continuing on our sovkhos. We have extremely grateful to the collective of SPMK Tashkent-1, which during recently has handed over a large amount of drained land. The harvest yield of the grain per hectare in the past 3-4 years has been approximately twice the average for the oblast. The drained fields yield even more grain. And those areas which have been "working" for several years, have been well cultivated and fertilized. They delight us with "Kuban'" harvests that surpass 40-50 quintals of grain per hectare. And it must be added that we currently are obtaining the stable harvest under any weather conditions, inasmuch as, on reclaimed land, they depend less and less upon the rain.

The increase in harvest has enabled the sovkhos to fulfill successfully the plan for the first four years of the five-year plan for sale of grain to the state, and a solid fodder base has been created. Under the new conditions it has become possible to introduce on the animal farms progressive

forms of labor organization and payment. "Thousander" milkmaids have appeared on the sovkhoz, who get more than 100 tons of milk from a group of cows. The meat branch also provides a good profit.

Of course, not everything has been completely worked out. The situation is still not too good with personnel: the detachment of reclamation workers is being replaced slowly. As on any large farm, interruptions occur: projects that are slated for activation are not activated on time; the deadlines for the mastery and rate of recovery on new areas of land are not always adhered to; and there are still unused reserves for increasing the quality of construction of draining systems. At the present time we and the collective of SPMK Tashkent-1 are attempting to eliminate all these shortcomings. And we shall do it. The time is not far off when all the plowed areas will be drained by closed drainage. The renewed land will present people with an even greater harvest.

On the Street of Friendship,
V. Mimidiminov,
Chief of SPMK Tashkent-1, Uznovgorodvodstroy Trust

The first group of reclamation experts that arrived at Novgorodskaya Oblast from Uzbekistan consisted of 13 people. We left our loved ones behind in the cities and villages of Uzbekistan and went to the nationwide construction project with no prospects of finding an easy life, but with the hope that everything would be all right for us at the new place. How can one understand that? Very simply: difficulties, the surmounting of them, but, most importantly, the great cause for the sake of we were striving -- those are the good things that elevate a person and make a person strong and satisfied with his life. One could list endlessly the things that we did not have enough of. But it is certainly better to talk about something else. From our very first days we, as the saying goes, rolled up our sleeves. The first wave that arrived from Tashkent delivered the necessary freight: heavy tractors, trucks, a mobile shop, welding equipment, tools.

Our group included construction workers and mechanizers, machinists and drivers, electric welders and equipment operators. But during the very first days, everyone had to be retrained as construction workers, because we had arrived there not as guests, not on a short tour of temporary duty, but for a long time. You can't create in a hurry a powerful mechanized column that is capable of draining thousands or more hectares of land a year.

In Shimsk, where the land-reclamation subdivision was based, we were assigned plots for the first street. There were not yet any homes on it, but there already was a name for it -- Druzhba. And the work started at a fever pitch: bricks and other building materials began arriving. The Novgorodekaya Oblast CPSU Committee and the oblast executive committee did

a lot to assure that we people who had arrived from Uzbekistan felt from the very first days that we were not guests, but were right at home. The local residents greeted us in a brotherly manner: they accepted us into their families and then, when our own housing became available, helped us to get our everyday lives set up, even giving us pots and buckets from their own households. Is that only a minor point? You'd better not say so! It was even more than generosity. It can be called brotherhood and cordiality. Manifestations of brotherhood and friendship were at every step. Like the first wave, the subsequent groups of reclamation experts who arrived from Uzbekistan in Novgorodskaya Oblast were met with flowers and music. Five years already have passed, but we can see before our eyes those frosty days: the snow was falling, but the people meeting us had white southern flowers in their hands -- calla lilies. And what a happy occasion it was when the children met their Uzbek friends in school! Our children went to school wearing their national costumes, and immediately the schoolchildren began trying on the variously-colored embroidered caps. The events of those days flash by like the scenes in a happy, festive film. The trip to Novgorod, the museums, the kremlin, the monument "The Thousand-Year Anniversary of Russia," . . .

As the chief of the mechanized column, I often had the opportunity at that time to discuss the purpose of our stay in Novgorodskaya Oblast, and to discuss plans. And the plans were impressive ones. By 1975 our mechanized column was supposed to use 1.3 million rubles and to turn over more than 1000 hectares of drained land.

At that stage of development, I was not simply pleased, but absolutely stunned by people's responsibility, because, in essence, the collective was only just being formed and contained, I might note, more than 20 different nationalities -- Russians, Uzbeks, Belorussians, Lithuanians, Kazakhs, Tatars. . . There was one goal, but customs and national peculiarities are different. Some people like a special kind of tea, other people do not recognize any kind of meat other than lamb. Some people are quick, and others cannot stand to be rushed. But they all became friends and became a single working organism, without losing their national peculiarities.

Five years is not too long a period of time, but the kolkhozes and sovkhoses have already received from us several thousand hectares of drained land, which is capable of yielding and is yielding 30-35 quintals of grain per hectare. In addition, the reclamation experts participated in the construction of sprinkling systems, prepared projects for the production of peat, and carted the fertilizers out onto the fields.

The housing fund of the mechanized column also grew, although not all the difficulties have been overcome. The specialized SPMK Tashkent-3 is in charge of the construction of purification structures in Shimsk. As soon as that work is finished, we will receive seven buildings with all conveniences and a 100-bed dormitory. In addition, the construction of 24 two-apartment cottages is continuing. Thus, our housing problem will be solved.

At the present time we are working on "three fronts." This is not an easy job, but it is necessary. The speed with which we create a powerful production base and a modern housing fund will determine the land-reclamation rates. A lot has been done already. I remember how, as I walked for the first time over the places where now the administrative building, repair shops, and warehouses have been built, I could not imagine that this vacant expanse would be changing in a short period of time. Every step that I took caused the water to splash from under my rubber boots, and as a person who was accustomed to the dry land in Uzbekistan, I was perplexed at every step.

But now the land has been drained. And things have been set right. The mechanized column has become stronger. We now have 35 multibucket and single-bucket excavators, a large number of heavy tractors, and many other pieces of machinery. The collective has grown real experts in draining the fields. We have crews to operate the drainage equipment, which have fulfilled the five-year plan in four years. Take, for example, Viktor Resler's brigade. It is currently working on its 1982 assignments. Working together with him are Ivan Burshteyn and Vasilii Gubanov. In Uzbekistan they were famous as experts in irrigating the land, but here, operating equipment to drain the land, they have not lost their fame as experts: during the very first year they laid more than 100 kilometers of drainage systems, which is twice the norm.

The example provided by the innovators summonses the other crews to the same kind of creative labor. This healthy enthusiasm is supported by the party committee and the construction-site committee at the mechanized column. The following instance is one that I consider to be interesting. In June of last year, the drainage-excavator brigade where Mikhail Nafikov is the operator laid 32 kilometers of drainage systems, with the annual norm of 50. That was, needless to say, a record among records. There had even been a few who harbored doubt: is that kind of individual output, in principle, even possible? Wasn't it achieved at the cost of quality? A special commission was created. The commission inspected the fields, but did not find any errors that had been committed.

The renewed land which we hand over to the kolkhozes and sovkhoses is called fields of friendship. That word is very popular here. Friendship nights, ulitsa Druzhby [Friendship Street], fields of friendship. This unity manifests itself in everything. I walk down the street and I see two local Novgorod lads walking toward one another. They greet one another, and my heart skips a beat. "Salaam," one said. "Salaam," answered the other.

I want to talk also about another collective that was born a year ago. It has five tractor operators of different nationalities. The brigade leader, Oleg Pavlov, is a Russian, but he is one of our countrymen -- he arrived from Uzbekistan. The guys are young and are busy removing the roots of the bushes, removing the stones, and leveling the fields. In a word, they are

preparing the work front for the laying of the closed drainage.

Until the past year, the mechanizers worked "each for himself," Things seemed to be going smoothly. The plans were overfulfilled, and they did not complain about their wages. But there was just one thing that they didn't like -- their separation from one another.

"How would it be if we worked according to a 'single work order'?" Pavlov proposed. "I don't think we'll lose anything from doing it. . ."

That was how the new form of the organization of labor had its beginning.

Life convinces us that a person remains forever in front of that hearth which not simply heats, but also illuminates the life of his beloved home. Therefore we strive to explain immediately to all the arriving reclamation workers that they have arrived not as guests, but have come to their own well-lighted home. We explain it not by words, but by all our life, in which there is much that is new and remarkable in the relations among people.

We all know what a blessing good, well-appointed housing is for a person, especially if he is working in the field. But once, advanced operator Tursunpulat Rasulov dropped into my office to see me. He was embarrassed and kept looking at the floor. Then he lifted his head and said, "You know, I've decided about the apartment that you assigned me. I don't think I'll take it yet. I'll wait. . ."

What had forced the young fellow to reject the housing that he had waited for so long? Well, Zafar Yakubov and Nina Len'kina had gotten married, and they did not have an apartment. If that event had happened in Uzbekistan, Zafabr would have brought Nina into his family, to live with his parents. But where could they go here? And so Tursunpulat had given them his apartment. And when a daughter Zul'fiya was born to the young couple, there is no need to say who the first guest was.

The job of reclamation specialist is a special one. Fate has prepared many difficulties for the person who has dedicated himself to doctoring the earth. His work day is constantly out on the fields. It is all right if the project he is working on is close to a populated point and people can be driven back and forth from work. But there are also remote areas to which it is not easy to get. The reclamation specialists live in trailers. And the work itself, although it continues through the winter, is nevertheless seasonal. You can't compare a summer day with a winter day. Therefore the excavator operators, the drainage-equipment crews, and the other specialists have to "apply the pressure" during the summer. Sometimes I arrive at a brigade and I see an operator sitting at the wheel of a drainage excavator. He is being baked by the rays of the sun and by the heat of the running motor. Nearby is a pool with spring water, and the cool shadows of the woods, but the person doesn't have any time to take a dip or rest for a while. Every minute is very valuable during the summertime.

Life has shown us that we ought to show more concern for those who are out in the fields. It is necessary to reorganize decisively the system of everyday services. First of all, they need good nutrition. And so, for three years in a row the mechanizers have been receiving hot lunches. Then an ORS [Department of Workers' Supply] was organized in the trust. The ORS helped to open up a store and a messhall in the mechanized column. And by last year we provided everyone who works in the fields with two meals a day, with the lunches being prepared not only in the messhall, but also in two mobile kitchens. We set up special accommodations for rest.

In addition to the reclamation, the workers in our southern republic are carrying out the construction of two large-scale specialized sovkhoses -- Tashkentkiy and Druzhba. Both farms will be large-scale enterprises specializing in the production of meat, milk, and vegetables. At the present time, two large-scale mechanized columns are operating at those projects -- Tashkent-5 and the recently created independent subdivision of Uzparfinvodstroy. They will be responsible for using 74 million rubles, for creating large-scale animal-husbandry complexes, and for reviving useless land for the purpose of obtaining large harvest of all crops from them.

From year to year the friendship among our peoples has been growing and has been becoming stronger. It is a source of our shock labor, our love for the Novgorod land. So, may harvests ripen on the fields of friendship, may the housewarmings on the streets of Friendship never end, may the collectives at the sovkhoses that bear that glorious name -- Friendship -- become advanced ones.

We Are Building Tashkentkiy,
Z. Shaydulin,
mechanizer at SPMK Tashkent-5, Uznovgorodvodstroy Trust

Not too long ago, the artists prepared an attractively colored display depicting a panoramic view of the construction site at the Tashkentkiy Sovkhoz. It was set up at a prominent place and we went there to see it. Our farm has an enticing and impressive prospect. A few of those who had been dreaming of moving on to a new place after the completion of construction here began to think, "Maybe I ought to stay here for good?"

I have a special attitude toward the Novgorod area. I'm not going to run down the virginland expanses or the burning sands of Uzbekistan, where my working biography was formed, and where I did quite a bit of work; they are pretty and they attract people no less than the Nonchernozem Zone does, but in my fate this Russian land, as I have already said, occupies a special place. Both in my fate, and in the fate of my mother and my brothers. When we were very small boys, triangles from the front -- letters from our father -- used to arrive at our home. It was then that the words "Novgorod," "Volkhov River," and others entered our life. Father wrote, "There are a lot of lakes and pine forests here." I asked my

mother, "What does 'pine' mean?" She could not explain to me, but would answer, "It means forests with large trees."

Father did not return from the war. He remained forever in Novgorod land, and since that time that land has been sacred for all my family.

Three years ago, when the construction of the Amubukhar Canal was coming to an end in Uzbekistan, discussions began to spring up among the mechanizers to the effect that jobs that were no less stupendous were starting up in the Nonchernozem Zone. We were working in the sun-scorched sands, far from home. For hours on end, we stayed in the cabins of our heavy machinery. What should a mechanizer have dreamed about at the end of that construction job, when the living water in the canal was ready to bring back to life thousands of hectares of infertile land? The builder of that kind of canal could dream with complete justification about his well-deserved rest, and then about working on the new, restored land. But during those days any discussion of ours always swung back to the Nonchernozem Zone: what kind of work they had there, what volume of work, what kind of equipment. . .

I was working far from my family, but that distance was not really so great. On days off, my family would get together. At that time we were living in a separate cottage. My family got along very well: my son Rustam and daughter Zul'fiya never grieved my wife or me. Once I came home and said that there would be a chance to go to work in Novgorodskaya Oblast. At first my wife did not answer me, but in her eyes I read, "I'm with you." And so, as Gagarin once said before his flight, let's go!

The tiny village of Lesnaya greeted us. The land was swampy, low-lying, and we were told that, both during the spring and the autumn, large areas were flooded. And then, all of a sudden, there were large areas of peat bogs, overgrown with sparse woods and bushes. It was precisely on these areas, after reclamation, that it was planned to get high harvests of all crops.

I was an experienced construction worker and I immediately believed that the tiny village would soon get built up, the farmstead of the sovkhos would be created, and we would get the harvests that had been assigned. But there were those who doubted. By that time there were already plots of drained swamps which the reclamation specialists had turned over to the Zarya experimental-production farm. The first thing we did was to visit there. Harvest operations were already in progress and we were surprised at what they were producing: each hectare yielded 220-250 quintals of potatoes.

When we spoke to the mechanizers, we learned additional details: irrespective of the weather, the brown soils yield a harvest every year that is stable, high, and, most importantly, the drained peat bogs make it possible to use complete mechanization, machine technology. The detachments harvest the potatoes only with combines, using them effectively, by the group method. Every

crew harvests during the season 1000-1500 tons of potatoes, which is a record harvest for the oblast.

"Once there was nothing here but a swamp. . ." our comrades from the experimental production farm told us.

And so, suddenly, everyone, including those who had not believed, did believe. My fellow Uzbeks Il'giz Batyrov, Pavel Pen'kov, and Khamid Khushnutdinov, which whom I had worked previously at a construction-installation administration, made a mad dash to "saddle" a tractor as soon as possible.

But now the entire brigade has approached the display and is examining the panoramic view of the future sovkhos. Those artists really know their stuff! But we're just as good as they are. Much of what was depicted has already been carried out. During the three years that we have been here, dozens of different structures have sprung up. One can already see clearly the outlines of a modern rural settlement with wide asphalt streets and the foliage of the trees.

We give a special place to the building of housing. The people who moved into the fully-equipped buildings were those who had begun laying the sovkhos. A messhall where tasty lunches are prepared was constructed. And whoever misses the Uzbek dishes is invited to go to the Andizhan Cafe. The Cheburashka kindergarten was opened for the youngsters. The sovkhos construction workers have a club house, library, everyday-services room, medical station, and stores. And all this is at the very same place where the little village of Lesnaya stands.

But these are only the first steps. It will be necessary to use approximately 35 million rubles. One-half of that amount has been allocated for the construction of the sovkhos settlement, and the other half for the improvement of the land and the construction of irrigation networks and production facilities.

The new sovkhos will be the largest agricultural enterprise in the oblast. It will be necessary to turn over a dairy complex for 1200 cows, eight hothouses, and a large number of other projects. Our farm alone will produce as many early vegetables as were produced by all the farms in the oblast four years ago.

We have a lot of work ahead of us, but we have just as much right now. The volume of work is great. They will be carried out by several subdivisions operating in a comprehensive manner, at high rates. The largest of these subdivisions are the SPMK Tashkent-5, PMK Abdizhan-1, and a number of construction sectors. One of our basic tasks is the preparation of the land for the future agricultural production. It will be necessary to turn over a total of 3100 hectares of peat bogs and improved fields. The brigade that I head is engaged in specifically this kind of work. There are four of us mechanizers. We are the first to lay a trail on the future

fields. At the present time this land is overgrown by sparse pine and aspen forests and is swampy. And so, with the aid of powerful technology, we are supposed to remove the bushes, and clear the land for the purpose of laying drainage systems, particularly drain pipes, on them.

Before introducing my comrades, I would like to say that our small collective was formed not too long ago. Moreover, it was not formed all at once. When the rooting operations began, the mechanizers preferred to work separately. Apparently they felt that it was simpler that way to achieve the best results: whatever you did, that's what you would receive. The efforts, skill, and experience determined the wages. However, the overall concern, the single field, brought us closer together. And the better we recognized one another, the more clearly we could see the minuses of that kind of "solitude." The first to mention those minuses was Communist Valentin Blyum. He had arrived at the sovkhos construction site earlier than us, and mastered the heavy tractors and the rooting ahead of us, and naturally, he could outpace us in the work. Therefore his wages were also a bit higher. Nevertheless it was specifically he who proposed that we join into a brigade and operate on a single work order.

"Listen, Valentin," people told him, "if we use that kind of organization of labor, you'll lose money. Why do you want to take money out of your own pocket and put it in somebody else's?"

Blyum answered like a real Communist. He believed in the success of the common task, and his heart ached to have the clearing of the fields proceed more rapidly. But there were also those who continued to maintain to the old ways, hoping to rely more upon themselves than upon the collective. Therefore only four mechanizers entered the brigade: Valentin Blyum, Il'giz Batyrov, Farid Faskhutdinov, and myself. We formed a council and the leadership was given to me, although I do not think that it was because of my better knowledge of the technology or a greater amount of life experience than the others had. Probably my calm nature played its role here.

We worked out the brigade's labor code. The basic rule was to work at full power, in the most conscientious manner, because the wages would be divided equally. That was so even though Faskhutdinov's category was at that time lower than the others. But what is especially important that we established a "dry law." I might as well admit that the mechanizers operating to reclaim the land also include those who take a little something out onto the field in order to "warm themselves up," as the expression goes. Our brigade fought drunkenness from the very first day.

We worked where everyone could see everyone else. If some kind of problem suddenly, everyone would rush over to help. Previously no one had manifested such a zealous attitude toward his comrades. If someone asked, of course you wouldn't refuse, but it never happened that people offered to help without being asked. But now everyone worked together to eliminate the problem, and that provided a noticeable saving of time and cut down on the idle time.

Everyone was convinced about the advantages of the brigade method. And not only because we considerably exceed the norms and get paid wages that are larger than the "singletons." There has been a sharp increase in the labor productivity. In addition to rooting out the bushes, during the summer we cleared more than 400 hectares of fields and considerably overfulfilled the assignment. Now we are continuing to expand the limits of the land which in the future is supposed to yield a fine harvest. But what was especially gratifying for me is the fact that it is easier and more fun to work as a brigade. For example, lunchtime comes and everyone goes into the trailer together. We divide up everything, and we talk about the competition and family matters.

After joining up into a brigade, we began to use technical innovations with greater interest, to take a more thrifty attitude toward the technology, to assimilate the advanced experience, and to learn. Recently F. Faskhutdinov passed examinations and received a higher certification. There has been an increase in the professional skills achieved by others too. As for the wages, the mechanizers, even the most experienced ones, not only did not lose anything as compared with the situation when they were working separately, but they noticeably profited from it.

Now our associates see great benefits in the brigade system. It provides advantages both for production as a whole and for each mechanizer separately. It is not by accident that last year four more tractor operators asked us for our advice. We told them about the details of working according to a single work order, and about the difficulties that we had had while getting things worked out. Now we have our followers. At the present time a new brigade is being led by an old comrade of mine with whom I worked back in Uzbekistan, Pavel Pen'kov. I share my experience with him, and help him. Things are going very well in that collective. They are overfulfilling the plan. True, not all the mechanizers there have achieved an equal level of skill, and the payment is computed according to their category. But I am convinced that soon the young people will learn, will accumulate knowledge, and everything will fall into place. There is good reason for us in the near future to engage in reinforcing the brigade, in making it, as it were, an integral-process brigade, so that it can execute not just one operation of reclaiming the land, but several. In that instance the collective will turn over areas of land that are completely ready for sowing.

The specialists in our SPMK Tashkent-5 of Uznovgorodvodstroy Trust must, in my opinion, be bolder in introducing innovations, especially the brigade contract. I know that there are a lot of difficulties, but you cannot just try to bypass them. The land that we are preparing for plowing is hard to work with. In many places one encounters gullies in the swamps that are so big that the tractor gets bogged down as deep as the cabin. If you work by yourself, you might as well consider yourself lost. And so your comrades rescue you. And, what is especially important is that everyone is ready to wade into that brown swampy muck in order to attach a tow line to the tractor that is bogged down. No one is afraid, as the expression goes,

to get his feet wet. Everyone selects the most difficult plot for rooting, instead of trying to find the easiest one. The more difficulties there are en route, the more closely we work as a team, shoulder to shoulder.

And one more remarkable detail. At first, when the brigade was just being organized, during the repair and technical maintenance of the tractors each of us lost wages, because the computation of the wages was done according to different rates. But now everything is different. Whatever the brigade member is engaged in, he receives wages on a par with everyone else. Thus procedure forced everyone to pull himself up by his bootstraps, to take good care of the technology, and to keep it constantly in good working order. This also provided the opportunity to hand over ahead of deadline all the projects that had been assigned to us.

I have an ulterior motive for speaking about these aspects of life in the brigade, a brigade which, as a rule, consists of many nationalities. Every day mechanizers, excavator operators, construction workers, and other specialists arrive at the construction of Tashkenstkiy from Uzbekistan and other republics in the country. At first they have to live in trailers or in a single building. And they often have to work apart from everyone else. And to no avail. I think that at a new construction site it is also necessary to have a new system of organization of labor, a system that would bring people closer together, would make one big happy family out of them, and would create a healthy moral climate in the collectives.

We have big plans for the last year of the five-year plan. We want to achieve the pretern fulfillment of the assignment, to introduce the system of working according to the team work order. We have the capability of doing this. Recently we received new, more powerful tractors with root-diggers and other trailer tools. And people have begun showing more concern for those who are busy in the fields. It used to be that people had to take their lunch in a brown bag, but now hot meals have been organized.

Finishing the final year of the five-year plan by shock methods -- that is the striving today of those who are building the Tashkentskiy Sovkhoz. It is precisely this year that is the basic deadline for activating it.

During the three years that we have been living in Novgorod country, a lot of happy events have also occurred in my family. My wife Makhirovza is now working as a cook in the new messhall. Our daughter Zul'fiya has started attending an agricultural technicum, and is learning the occupation of accountant, so that, after she gets her diploma, she can return to our sovkhoz. Our son has taken a liking to electronics, and he is studying at a vocational and technical school. He wants to be an instrument tuner. As for my personal plans, they are completely definite. After the Tashkentskiy Sovkhoz is built, I think I'll stay here forever. I want very much to help the land which my father defended during hard times.

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REGIONAL

GEORGIAN MVD BOARD DISCUSSES DISHONESTY IN RANKS

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 27 Feb 80 p 3

[Article by G. Chikvinidze under rubric "Law, Order, and Us": "First You Must Yourself Be Clean and Honest. . . Report From a Meeting of the Georgian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Board of Directors"]

[Text] Let us say from the outset that this meeting of the board of directors of the Georgian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs was an unusual one in terms of its purpose, content, discussions, and attitudes toward the problems that were raised. It did more than discuss the sins and errors of others, matters of stepping up efforts to put a stop to violations of the law in other organizations and departments--it also discussed, sternly, and with full party conscientiousness, crimes that have taken place within the ministry itself, its various offices and city and rayon departments, events and incidents where certain militia officers have violated Soviet laws, besmirched their good name, and neglected their duties.

In short, the main topic of the board's discussion was the need to cleanse the ranks of Chekists, to step up effective efforts to successfully carry out the requirements and tasks assigned to the administrative organs by the recent meeting of the Georgian party aktiv.

At the meeting of the board, with Minister of Internal Affairs G. Gvetadze presiding, harsh, just, and principled criticism was directed at the behavior of certain people who have insinuated themselves into MVD organs and abused the rights and duties of representatives of state authority. It was stated that there have been serious shortcomings and gaps in the work of the criminal investigation department of the Tbilisi MVD administration. Some of its officers have besmirched the good name of militiaman by their unworthy behavior and committed crimes that call for criminal proceedings. This was reported to the board of directors by O. Gokadze, head of the ministry's political indoctrination work department. Board members and deputy ministers Sh. Gorgodze and A. Kavsadze, also individual administration office chiefs N. Targamadze, E. Gendzekhadze, N. Berishvili, M. Dzhaparidze, and others reported in

detail on the shocking crime and illegal actions committed by I. Sikharulidze, A. Alkhazov, S. Durglishvili, and A. Shpetishvili, all staff members in the criminal investigation department of the city's MVD administration. These unworthy individuals abused their positions to extort money from guilty persons and then cover up the crime.

Here's what happened:

The four culprits--I. Sikharulidze, A. Alkhazov, S. Durglishvili, and A. Shpetishvili--went to Bolnisi without the consent of their superiors, as if on official business. There they caught a citizen possessing a concealed firearm. Instead of confiscating the weapon and instituting criminal proceedings against the violator, they took the path of wrongdoing--they took a bribe of 3,000 rubles. Then they returned the man's weapon and hushed up the matter.

But, as the saying goes, the cat got let out of the bag. The illegal action did not escape the watchful eye of the MVD organs. Everything came to light, and the culprits were unmasked in time.

Of course everyone will get the punishment they deserve, but that's not the main point. The best part about it is that such crimes and violations can no longer be hidden.

A healthy atmosphere is being created in our MVD and its various offices and organs. Techniques and methods are being adopted which will prevent people from committing crimes and taking the crooked path. No criminal besmirching the good name of law officer can prosper, everyone will get his just desserts for his wrongdoing.

That this is so is attested by certain other cases where MVD personnel have themselves efficiently ferreted out and unmasked wrongdoers hiding behind the good name of officer of the law. Recently, for example, E. Chugoshvili, G. Gnolidze, and V. Keshelashvili, officers in Tbilisi's Ordzhonikidze Rayon MVD department, were caught in the act. Through deceit and threats, these three wrongdoers extorted 5,000 rubles from a citizen. However, as the saying goes, their bridge collapsed in mid-stream and they were caught. Now they are awaiting the full severity of the law for their deed.

Discussion at the board meeting made clear that the unauthorized and criminal actions that still take place in certain links of the MVD organs are an indication that in some case party principles and requirements governing cadre selection, appointment, and advancement are being violated. It was this kind of erroneous practice that prevailed, for example, in the criminal investigation department of Tbilisi's MVD administration.

The department's officials were replaced several times recently, and as a result supervision over subordinates slackened. Naturally, this encouraged lack of discipline, irresponsibility, unauthorized actions, and neglect of districts and microrayons. There were incidents when certain officers, claiming an emergency, left their post for some time, wandered freely and aimlessly about, and sometimes committed illegal acts. The board meeting noted that the administration's cadre department was not imposing strict enough requirements in personnel selection on the basis of political character and performance. This is why dishonest and unstable individuals got into the apparatus, people who could not meet the requirements imposed on officers of the law. The hiring of S. Durglishvili was cited as an example. He was hired to work in the criminal investigation department in gross violation of USSR MVD directives. S. Durglishvili's personal file does not include a work booklet nor references from his previous place of employment. Of course, he could not have such references, because he never worked anywhere. For a long time he avoided socially useful labor. It was also revealed that it took him 10 years to graduate from college.

What can you expect from people like that?

In short, when you look at the path of life taken by militia officers like him and others, you come to the conclusion that the city's MVD administration cadre department was hiring just about anyone without asking where they were from or who they were.

Can we afford to be so casual in hiring people to work in this honorable and responsible capacity? Such practice not only reflects laxity and superficiality with respect to official duties but also, if you please, is a kind of betrayal of this important cause.

Throughout the board meeting, certain party, soviet, Komsomol, and labor collectives came in for serious reproach because they were not critical enough in giving recommendations for employment in local law enforcement organs. Participants emphasized that it is essential to strengthen political-indoctrination work in each link, to step up efforts to eliminate formalism in cadre selection and advancement and cleanse the ranks. In short, we must do everything we can to carry out the decisions and directives of the Georgian party aktiv meeting with respect to strengthening law and order and the performance of the administrative organs, focusing especially on the fact that "in cracking down on dishonest persons who have betrayed the party's and the people's trust, we must also firmly replace those officials in the links of authority who, although they seemingly are not doing anything wrong are actually, by their passivity, encouraging unworthy persons in the ranks of the law enforcement organs."

In analyzing the board meeting, the healthy and critical debate, the discussions based on party principles, the recommendations made and the

strict measures undertaken, we are once more gratified by the fact that the personnel of our republic's MVD organs are doing practical work to successfully resolve the tasks facing them and establish law and order and decency in the republic.

It is truly said that first you must yourself be clean and honest in order to have the right to admonish others to be lawful and orderly. This truth must be perceived above all by law enforcement officers. Honesty and probity are especially valued among us. Anyone who fails to grasp this truth, who foolishly besmirches the good name of the militia officer, who fails to observe the ethical, moral, and legal norms proper to an officer of the law, will not escape censure, prosecution, and lawful penalties. This admonition must be kept in mind by all who step across the threshold of our administrative organs and undertake the extremely honorable and responsible duties of law enforcement.

This was the spirit that infused the meeting of the board of directors of the Georgian SSR MVD, the decisions made there, and the practical tasks mapped out to radically transform and improve the performance of the criminal investigation service.

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REGIONAL

GEORGIAN MVD OFFICIAL ON PASSPORT REFORM, ENFORCEMENT

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 11 Mar 80 p 3

[Article by G. Dzhincharadze, senior inspector, Second Department, Georgian SSR MVD Public Order Protection Administration, under rubric "Law, Order, and Us": "Strictly Enforce Passport Regulations"]

[Text] In order to keep proper track of population movement and transfer in our country, higher-level organs decreed a new statute governing the passport system, which institutes an efficient system of passport regulations enforcement and defines administrative responsibility for failure to comply.

MVD organs were well prepared in undertaking passport reform, with the support and supervision of local party and soviet organs, and are continuing to do so: 2,652,291 of the republic's citizens have already received the new passport, and passportization of the population in the border rayons is complete. Thus, passport reform has been successfully completed within deadline in our republic.

In recent years, passport regulations enforcement has been substantially improved. Extensive use of the capabilities of the passport system to maintain public order and fight crime has become more effective. Creative measures have been implemented to track down and find persons who refuse to pay family support. In addition good organization of the work has made it possible for us to reunite many separated relatives.

Successful implementation of the passport system has been achieved in Abkhazia, Adzharia, Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Gori, Tkibuli, Tsiklakh, Zugdidi, and Samtredskiy, Signakhskiy, Zestafonskiy, Kaspiskiy, Sagredzhoyiskiy and other rayons. The same cannot be said, however, about rayons in South Ossetia, where officials have not yet managed to fill out and issue the new passports and are not making proper use of the passport system to maintain public order and fight crime. The situation is the same in Marneul'skiy, Kvarel'skiy, Vanskiy, and certain other rayons.

In addition, many village soviets are not properly administering the registration of citizens under the new passport, so that in some cases the MVD organs cannot send address sheets to the Central Address Bureau within the stipulated time. This slows down information and operations work.

Unfortunately, many enterprise and institution officials persist in the harmful practice of hiring people without passports and unregistered persons; this makes it quite likely that they may be harboring criminals.

A recent inspection revealed that 1,632 enterprises and institutions were employing 1,787 persons without passports and 2,212 unregistered persons. Instances of this sort occurred, for example, in Tbilisi's Garment Factory imeni Pervoye Maya, Travel-Transport Association No 1, Amirani Garment Factory, the Avchala Glass Plant, the Kutaisi Silk Production Association, the Gelati Garment Production Association, the Roki Tunnel'stroy in South Ossetia, the Gardabana Roofing Materials Plant, and the Georgian Territorial Organizations of the USSR Transport Construction Ministry and the USSR Fishing Industry Ministry.

We often encounter violations of passport regulations in the schools of the GSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education. For example, more than 11,300 out of 32,566 students and pupils that were checked were living unregistered in Tbilisi and other cities and rayon centers of the republic.

An analysis of these facts indicates that passport violations are due chiefly to irresponsibility on the part of certain enterprise and institution officials, also the fact that in some cities and rayons there are so-called registration commissions which often deal with registration issues that are not within their jurisdiction.

It also frequently happens that because of obstacles that are not stipulated by law and because of the general housing shortage young students cannot register on time. Also unresolved in the problem of keeping track of citizens who refuse to register, and organized monitoring of their removal from the city is lagging. Sometimes, refusal to register is not legally justified, and the handling of registration matters drags on and on. We also have to deal with violations in which the citizen is not at fault.

Here are a few examples: For more than three years now, E. A. Bardadze has been unable to register his only son in his home (Tabidze Street No 9), yet he has no other means of making a living. For some reason, Tbilisi's Kalininskiy Rayon and city commissions have ignored E. A. Bardadze's request. In September 1978, citizen N. P. Turmanidze (Chavchavadze Street No 15) was wrongly removed from the register, and

so he is considered in violation of passport regulations through no fault of his own. In the same way, for two years now the question of M. A. Leonov's registration in the Kutaisi Motor Vehicle Plant's Housing has remained unresolved.

But there are also cases where citizens violate passport regulations for reasons of greed and feel no responsibility for the law. For example, Omar Giogiyevich Bukia worked just five months in Tbilisi in 1966-67, and after registering in his brother's building (Kv. 3, 15th Korpus, V. Pshavela Prospekt) he lived 10 years in Zugdidi without registering and worked in the city's trade establishments. Then in 1977 he got the chance to have his own apartment in Tbilisi, and immediately moved with his family (ot he capital and got in on a cooperative apartment. O. G. Bukia is a party member, yet the appropriate MVD departments for some reason did not have him listed as a passport violator for all that time.

There are also cases where citizens managed to get hold of a second passport and are registered simultaneously in two places, in order to keep their apartments or for some other reason. For example, Nodar Shalvayevich Tsiskaridze, a party member, has been working more than 10 years in Adigenskiy Rayon and living in Abasteumani, where he is registered. But Tsiskaridze was found to have a second passport, by which he was permanently registered in Tbilisi (Pavlov Street No 55). The same device was used by citizen A. V. Tsitaishvili to keep his apartment in Tbilisi (Zakariadze Street No 5); he is registered under a second passport and is living in Shemokmedi in Makhharadzevskiy Rayon.

Appropriate measures are being taken against such violators, of course, but the sad fact is that sometimes this crime is committed by those who by their position are themselves obligated to combat all violations.

Now that the work of large-scale passport reform is nearing completion, it is very important to enforce passport regulations everywhere, in every sector. It is essential that administrative organs enforce the law more strictly against those who are still trying to evade it.

6854
CSO: 1810

REGIONAL

OBKOM HEAD ON LEADERSHIP QUALITIES

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 80 p 2

[Article by N. Umanets, first secretary, Chernigovskiy Obkom of the Communist Party of the Ukraine: "How to Evaluate a Leader?"]

[Text] A year has passed since that talk, but I remember it to this day. The chairman of a kolkhoz had come to the obkom. Upset, bitter. I can hear the voice of my companion as though it were today: "Tell me, how much longer can I take this? They criticize and criticize. Every day a conference or a meeting, then a blow-up, a dressing-down. Is this fair! I twist from dusk to dawn, I don't know what it is to sleep. There seemingly are results. Our problem is that the soil at the kolkhoz is poorer than in the case of our eminent neighbors. But this somehow is not taken into consideration. You know, I would like to be transferred to another rayon. I am agreeable to any work."

Here you can see you have a situation. What is responsible? A man wishing easier living or simply that his nerves did not hold out? "I am tired of criticism"...

We started to analyze. True, the kolkhoz was on one of the bottom lines in the rayon reports. But from year to year, even though quite slowly, things here had been improving. It did not come easy. The poor fertility of the land made itself felt; the farm was truly in a disadvantageous position compared to many of its neighbors. But no matter how the kolkhoz farmers and their boss tried, the harvests were nothing to brag about. Thus the chairman was criticized from rayon and oblast tribunes.

He stayed on at the kolkhoz—we succeeded in convincing him. But this case once more drew our attention to a problem we had thought about at the obkom earlier: is a supervisor's work always accurately evaluated?

The question without a doubt is most important. We say correctly: we need to select people more attentively for heading collectives and to train them better. Sure, the pacemaker should be praised, supported, shown as an example for others; but the laggard, who has not used reserves should, on the

other hand, be criticized. It is said that criticism is the best medicine. And this is actually so. But what if the criticism does not have a sufficient basis, is not objective? If one resorts to it without particularly getting at the gist of the matter?..

Incidentally, the other is also bad: when a person is praised undeservedly. It is bad for him and for those to whom he is offered as an example. Inexact or fallacious reference points throw one off course.

In a word, if we are to speak of education of workers, a great deal begins here with an assessment of the state of affairs in this or that sector. It means that we must again and again scrutinize criteria of evaluations. Do they permit everything to be taken into account in determining who is to be called a good director and who is to be criticized?

Let us return to the evaluation of labor in farming. Here conditions, as was said earlier, can be quite different. This is why we set as an aim--to determine more clearly in the beginning on the scale of a single rayon and then for the entire oblast scientifically based criteria, which would help to evaluate more objectively and more accurately the work of operational managers in the country. Scientists have started to tally production output not from the physical hectare but from a so-called ballohectare--the same unit of area, but with a "correction" according to the soil scale number, its fertility. At our request, staff workers of the Kiev institute and oblast scientific-research institutions conducted in the Chernigov area a qualitative assessment of all the lands on the basis of a 100-point scale.

And now at a meeting of the oblast party-organization aktiv discussing the tasks of ensuring ahead-of-scale fulfillments of plans of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, I unintentionally noted how freely the speakers were using a term, which only recently many people had no knowledge of--"production output of a ballohectare." The main thing is that refinement of criteria resulted in a certain revision of values. This, as you now understand, by all means has a special meaning--first of all because it touches upon such an important aspect of the matter as stimulation of further improvement of the work of many rural directors.

I will give an example. For a long time competition leaders in Menskiy Rayon were considered to be Rodina and Ukraina kolkhozes. Here they obtained 35-40 quintals of grain. The directors of both farms were identically praised.

It would appear that everything was proper, everything was fair. But now the results of the pacemakers were approached with a new measure. And then it was found that on the first farm a ballohectare produces 90 or more kilograms of grain and 460 kilograms of potatoes and on the second only 59 and 329, that is, two-thirds as much. Thus, on Rodina Kolkhoz, located on inferior land, much more effort and ability was applied, and people worked harder the land than at Ukraina Kolkhoz.

The conclusion, you can be sure, at first discouraged many people. How did the then Ukraine chairman V. Kivin'ko and the chief agronomist A. Nagornyy feel on hearing the opinion of the party raykom: your neighbors are managing a lot better than you. And this was not said privately but openly before the entire rayon aktiv.

I want to point out that the raykom and its first secretary P. Sych did not hide that the conducted analysis served as a lesson not only to the directors of the farms but also to themselves, that namely the raykom was primarily responsible for the miscalculations which at times occurred in an evaluation of the results of labor. Self-criticism increases trust in criticism. In the given case, it alerted people, first of all the leaders, to look more strictly at themselves and to search more actively for reserves.

Trying to increase the yield of each hectare in the rayon they began to give more attentive consideration to what effect mineral fertilizers produced, what use was made of equipment, production capital as a whole and so on. It is also not surprising that earlier widespread complaints ceased: our farm, you know, is on sand, our neighbor's on chernozem. Those people whose land was really choice (as in the case of Ukraine Kolkhoz) understood: we have to make still better and fuller use of it, to advance.

Such a situation is even more characteristic of other rayons in the oblast. Furthermore, improvement in the evaluation of the labor of collectives and their directors combined with a certain amount of organizational work results in a gain that is both economic and moral. By the way, my old time friend the chairman, whose sad tale I told, is now considered among the pacemakers. Today all kolkhozes without exception are operating profitably in Chernigovskaya Oblast. The last managed to become first.

Of course, all this was achieved not solely through more precise accounting of actual land yield. The ballohectare is only one of many measures contributing to a more substantive and objective evaluation of the work of directors. Talks with them in party committees, preparation and discussion of reports at bureau meetings and substantive exchange of opinions at plenums constitute different forms and methods that we try to use for this purpose.

A commission is sent out, for example, to study the work of directors. But how ably were its members chosen? Are they sufficiently knowledgeable, experienced people? And will they have the time to adequately analyze the situation, not to judge it all at once, but substantively and comprehensively?

A comprehensive approach is very important in an evaluation. Many demands are made on the modern director. As pointed out at the 25th CPSU Congress, he must organically combine party spirit in himself with profound competence and discipline with initiative and a creative approach to the job. At the same time, the director is obliged in any sector to take into consideration

social-political and educational aspects and to be sensitive to people. Here, as in a song, you cannot throw out the words. You cannot judge solely by the production indicator.

For many years D. Boyko, the chairman of Kolkhoz imeni Ordzhonikidze of Bakhmachskiy Rayon, was convinced that he was doing a good job. The indicators were not lower and in some cases even higher than average rayon figures... But specialists started to leave here, complaints of kolkhoz members "went" to different offices.

At the obkom they began to wonder: what was the reason? They made a thorough check of the arriving signals. And then it became clear: too high a price was being paid for the chairman's achievements. Rudeness, abuse, intolerance of criticism--these traits of his behavior increasingly heated the atmosphere at the farm. The party organization, instead of correcting the communist, remained silent. The party raykom did not show enough adherence to principles. In sum, D. Boyko began to believe in his own infallibility, refused to accept what was new and advanced and did not take into account specialists' opinion.

There can be no doubt that this could not help but be reflected finally in the productive activity of the kolkhoz. "Suddenly" the productivity of the animal-husbandry farms dropped here, profitability of production became lower. This is what it means not to give an all-round evaluation to the director in time (this is also extremely important!) and not to correct the opinion about him. It became necessary to resort to extreme measures. D. Boyko was released from the position he occupied. We teach other workers with the use of such errors and lapses (fortunately, they are growing smaller among us, and we also learn ourselves. Of course, we also teach with better examples.

Take, for example, chairman of Kolkhoz imeni Vatutin V. Sidenko. He has been 27 years in this position and has become a Hero of Socialist Labor. Yet he remains as before a very modest man. I have been in contact with him many times, and each time I noticed how demanding Vasilii Maksimovich is in regard to himself and how attentive he is in regard to the opinion of people.

Such directors constitute the gold fund of the oblast party organization. The experience they have accumulated is being studied with increasing attention and being more actively disseminated by the party obkom and raykoms. Recently, for example. A regular poster dealing with this experience was recently issued. The "secrets" of the best leaders of labor collectives are examined in detail at plenums of party committees, seminars and science-and-practice conferences.

Such a form of probational training with mentors has well proved itself. Sixty-two base production units have been selected where our cadre reserve can study.

All this work aids in solving more successfully the problem of strengthening the management of economically weak farms. Starting heads know that they are guaranteed an objective evaluation of their efforts and timely skillful aid. For this reason they assume their job with more confidence. Thus, N. Buryachek, who comes from one of the best kolkhozes in the oblast--9 Yanvarye--headed neighboring Zhovten' Kolkhoz and has already caught up in terms of basic indicators with the pacemakers. V. Polulyakh was chosen chairman of Kolkhoz imeni V.I. Lenin, and there are good changes at hand...

To evaluate a manager precisely according to his worth means to aid in his growth and improvement. And this is helped by systematic control, strict demand and an attentive, sensitive attitude in regard to experience and possible failures and in regard to strong and weak sides of character. It is important to take into greater account the opinion of the primary party organization concerning this or that worker.

While asserting big demands on workers, the oblast party organization tries to create all the necessary conditions for the fullest disclosure of their abilities, development of creative initiative and strengthening of responsibility. We see in this a guarantee of successful fulfillment of increased socialist commitments by the workers of Chernigovskaya Oblast for the final year of the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

7697

CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

EDITORIAL SCORES ERRORS, CRIMINAL NEGLIGENCE IN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 18 Mar 80 p 1

/Text/ The work being conducted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia to accelerate the economic development rate, to strengthen party, state and labor discipline, to step up the struggle against negative phenomena which have taken root in public life has contributed to the further development and improvement of the entire system of public education in the republic in accordance with the requirements derived from the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Georgia.

The healthy segment of the teaching staffs and employees of the schools and organs of public education in the republic--and they constitute the overwhelming majority--have a serious attitude of responsibility toward the fulfillment of their obligations; they are working to strengthen socialist discipline and the strict observance of the rules of school life.

There have been noticeable improvements in the work of the general educational schools and the organs of public education. School construction is proceeding successfully; there has been improvement in the provisions for educational materials, the transition to universal secondary education has been largely completed, the quality of instruction and academic success rate of pupils has improved, the number of children repeating a grade has been reduced, labor education, as well as physical-education and health work has been improved. With the active participation of Komsomol organizations, an effective struggle is being conducted against formalism in educational work.

As a result of all this the authority of the teacher as a central figure in the school has risen immeasurably. A great deal of attention was devoted to this issue by the 4th Congress of Georgian Teachers, which played an important role in the life of the republic's pedagogical community.

Nonetheless, instances of a compromising attitude toward errors committed in pedagogical practice and toward the criminal irresponsibility of certain teachers and school directors have still not been completely eliminated.

The Georgian SSR Ministry of Education has adopted a special letter to be sent to all the republic's teachers and to the employees of public educational system "Concerning the Further Strengthening of the Uncompromising Struggle to Increase Socialist Discipline and to Eradicate Negative Phenomena in School life." The full text of the letter was published in the 14 March issue of the newspaper SAKHALKHO GANATLEBA.

The discussion primarily concerns the prevalence of cases in which there is a lack of objectivity, as well as liberalism and favoritism, and sometimes profit, in the testing and grading of pupils. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, as well as other leading organs of the republic and the editor of ZARYA VOSTOKA have received quite a number of statements and complaints regarding infractions of various kinds and a lack of objectivity shown by certain teachers, school directors and other employees of the organs of public education.

The attention of the Georgian SSR Ministry of Education has been directed to violations of this kind more than once. It has been emphasized that a certain number of the republic's general education schools are still not providing adequate training for graduates according to the complete academic program which has been set out, and their marks on the school certificate do not always objectively reflect the real level of their knowledge. This takes place because the pedagogical collectives in a number of schools have still not created an atmosphere of high standards, objectivity and a conscientious attitude toward their obligations; this contributes to an artificial exaggeration in the number of candidates for gold medals and certificates with high marks.

During the last academic year certain reviews and evaluations did not correspond to the level of the examination papers presented for the gold medal. In view of this fact, 51 candidates were not awarded the gold medal. At the entrance examinations for Tbilisi State University, the Georgian Polytechnical Institute imeni V.I. Lenin and the Tbilisi Medical Institute unsatisfactory grades on the exams were received by 15 gold medal winners, as well as by 1,079 students who had certificates showing an average arithmetical grade of "5" and by 2,363 who had a certificate showing a grade of "4.5." A significant number of school leavers showed a particularly poor grasp of their native language and literature, mathematics, physics and chemistry.

The letter from the Georgian SSR Ministry of Education says that frequently teachers and school directors do not shun all possible types of "attention"; they receive presents, while "active" parents, act as the initiators, hoping to obtain for their children high marks which they have not earned. Gross violations also occur when it is a question of teachers whose children or relatives attend the school where they teach. Instances of this kind have taken place in the schools of Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Zugdidi, and of Gegechkorskiy, Khashurskiy, Gardabanskiy, Dmanisskiy and a number of other rayons in the republic. Some of the school directors and teachers guilty of illegal actions have been fired from their jobs; others have been subjected to strict party and administrative penalties.

Unfortunately, there are also grounds for deep concern about other issues. The former director of the Digomskaya Secondary School in the Mtskhetskiy Rayon, G. Koblashvili, accepted a bribe from an after-school daycare employee who wanted to be assigned primary school classes; criminal proceedings were brought against the director. Some employees of schools and preschool institutions in Tbilisi, Sukhumi, Gori, in Khashurskiy and other rayons were found guilty of attempting to export illegally certain goods during a sightseeing trip. The head of the methods unit of the Sachkhere Rayon Department of Public Education, K. Khodzhashvili helped in the theft of medicines in short supply; he was arrested. These cases must become the subject of principled condemnation by all pedagogical collectives.

In its letter, the Georgian SSR Ministry of Education demands that all teachers and public education employees put an end to negative phenomena in pedagogical collectives, and that they refuse to tolerate any further violations of pedagogical ethics. Every teacher and every parent must be aware that lowering the standards leads to poor knowledge of the material in the program, and it gives rise to the use of coaches. It is particularly worth noting that abuses which are permitted in the testing and evaluating of students' knowledge make it more difficult to provide young people with the correct vocational orientation. Thus the school artificially increases the number of students wishing to receive higher education at the expense of those who are not adequately prepared for it.

The Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party has approved the letter from the Georgian SSR Ministry of Education to all of the republic's teachers and to employees in the public educational system, and it has directed the raykoms, gorkoms, and obkoms of the party to work with the organs of public education in discussing the letter in pedagogical collectives, to ensure that there is a high political level to the discussions as well as to organize discussion of this letter in labor collectives. The Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party attaches great significance to this discussion and thinks that if it is conducted in a serious atmosphere, under conditions of principled criticism and self-criticism, it will undoubtedly lead to positive results.

The school pedagogical collectives must carry out a profound and comprehensive analysis of the local state of affairs; they must uncover inadequacies in the testing and grading of pupils, including those which continue to exist. These abuses have a pernicious influence on the normal course of the educational process; they create situations of conflict between teachers and school pupils, they cause dissension within the collective and they make it more difficult to instill in young people at school high ideological and moral convictions. It is essential to continue displaying an attitude of intolerance toward teachers and school directors who show a lack of principles and responsibility.

It should be kept in mind that the discussion of the letter by the pedagogical collectives should not be limited to simply making people aware of its contents. What is required is a concrete, objective analysis of the facts regarding all aspects of the negative phenomena and the status of the struggle to strengthen socialist discipline in the school in order to eliminate any future possibility of subjectivism, liberalism and favoritism in the grading of students. Teachers who are communists must take the most active part in the discussion of the letter. They are also the ones who must set an example of a principled attitude--truly in the spirit of the party--toward all these issues.

The local party committees have been called on to work constantly to increase the role, location and significance of the schools' primary party organizations in the life of the pedagogical collectives. They are not always or everywhere found at the necessary level, and they do not make use to the necessary extent of the right to monitor the activities of the administration; nor do they exert the desired influence on everyday school life.

At the same time serious attention should be given to increasing the demands made on the primary party organizations of institutions, industrial and agricultural enterprises, construction projects and transportation units to raise the level of responsibility of parents working at these places, and especially to raise the level of responsibility which communists take for the education of their children. There needs to be introduced the practice of discussing these issues at bureau sessions and party meetings with the goal of having the school, family and the community working together for the further improvement of instruction, the upbringing of pupils in general education schools and in their preparation for labor.

Our task to eliminate every vestige of the negative phenomena which remain to this day in our school life and to develop worthy citizens of society, patriots and internationalists.

8543
CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

GEORGIAN PARTY OFFICIAL, PLANT DIRECTOR FIRED FOR BUREAUCRATIC ATTITUDE

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 80 p 2

[Article by G. Lebanidze, Tbilisi: "A Man's Attitude"]

[Text] B. Merkviladze, first secretary of the Zestafosnkiy Rayon party committee, was upset when he was sharply criticized at a session of the bureau of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, at which the state of the campaign against harmful traditions and relics of the past was being discussed--criticized for what he thought could have brought him praise, for administrative matters. Yes, he was told, the economic figures for the rayon seemed good. They could have been far better, however, if the raykom had demonstrated greater concern for improving the moral atmosphere in the collectives.

The secretary "caught it" especially for deficiencies at the republic's largest enterprise, a ferroalloy plant. For just what kind of deficiencies? A callous and formal-bureaucratic attitude had been taken toward the people there. Safety and labor protection measures had been grossly violated. The shops contained obsolete equipment and were polluted with gas. Worse than that, the employees frequently worked overtime to fulfill plan assignments. Little concern was shown for personal facilities for the plant workers. Director Tskitishvili was crude and tactless with subordinates.

A serious discussion took place at the bureau session. It appeared that the party raykom and the plant leaders would not fail to reach some conclusions based on the discussion. Time passed, however, and a repeat inspection was made. It revealed that not much had been done. How did the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee appraise the situation? Just as it should have. The raykom first secretary was relieved of his position, and the plant director was expelled from the party. He was also removed from the post of director. Along with this, the Union Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy was asked a number of questions about improving working conditions and personal facilities for the enterprise workers.

This ending to the episode, you will agree, was an enlightening one. And it is typical of today's atmosphere in the republic party organization, where a real position of principle is becoming more and more firmly established in appraising any sort of disregard for the interests and the needs of the workingman.

I recall a talk I had with T. Rostiashvili, a worker at the Aircraft Plant imeni Dmitrov and a member of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. We discussed the successes achieved in the republic. During the first 4 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan industry had increased output by 30.1 percent, 4 percent more than the plan specified.

When the talk turned to successes, Rostiashvili also mentioned some other figures: the amount of lost worktime had been reduced more than 2-fold in industry since 1972, almost 4-fold in construction, and 6.8-fold in transport. Were stricter demands being made of violators of discipline and of those expected to organize the work for the employees? Absolutely.

"But is that really all there is to it?" I remember Rostiashvili exclaiming. "You can't instill order with strictness alone. Nor with heart-to-heart talks or appeals either. You have to have both of them. I believe that concern for the individual is the main thing. It has a better indoctrinating effect than anything else! Why do the people at our plant work so remarkably well? Because they have a good attitude, that is why. Spend some time with us and you will see...."

I visited the aircraft plant more than once. And I always noticed that more and more concern was shown for the workingman there from one day to another. His attitude "is affected" by spacious shops filled with light and flowers, by convenient personal facilities and lounge areas. Incidentally, the "dining shop" has been raised to the ranks of the most important production shops. The decor in the dining halls can match that of first-class restaurants. The food is cheap and tasty. There are fresh vegetables on the menu the year round. They are grown in the plant's own hothouses. The meat is also "their own." A trade association has been set up at the enterprise. Various stores are located near the plant. And the plant settlement is a wonder to see! Five multistoried residences and a kindergarten have been built there in the past 2 years, and sports facilities and greenery have been added.

Did all of this just happen? No, of course not. The party committee worked with the plant management to work out a long-term comprehensive plan for the collective's economic and social development. This plan was approved by the Tbilisi party gorkom and is being persistently carried out. Persistently is precisely the word! It would be naive at the very least to imagine that they just worked out the plan and then stepped aside. There is no point in concealing the fact that there are still "schemers," however: They compile a lot of plans and promise more than they can

deliver, and then do nothing. There is no place for this at the aircraft plant. Let me give you just one example. At one of its sessions, the party committee was discussing problems pertaining to cultural and personal services for the plant workers. It pointed out the fact that they were being improved more slowly than specified in the plan. Why was this so? Serious errors and blunders were revealed in the performance of the deputy director for social and personal service matters. They had been brought to his attention before. There was no longer any attempt "to persuade" him! He was retired at the insistence of the communists.

This sort of strictness serves the cause. I can cite similar examples from the experience of party organizations at other enterprises as well. For a long time D. Kiknadze served as director of the Machine-Tool Plant imeni Kirov. He seemed to have been a fair administrator in the past. With the passage of time, however, his words and his deeds began diverging, more and more often, especially when it came to concern for the people. And the once-outstanding enterprise gradually became one of the lagging plants. Naturally, Kiknadze was not the only one to blame. The communists correctly considered him to be the main one, however. The plant now has a new director....

"Removal from the post" and "punishing along the party line" for being inconsiderate to people are extreme measures, of course. And frankly speaking, probably almost every instance of the employment of such measures is an indication of previous errors in the work of this or that party organization or party committee. And the punishment is ordinarily earned. But why were the "maladies" not detected earlier? Why was there no prompt intervention? These are not idle questions.... It is perfectly possible that they could have been asked in the collective at the Rustavi Chemical Plant today, if the party gorkom and the republic trade union council had not intervened in the situation developing there.

This is what happened. A proper effort was not made at the enterprise to provide relaxation and cultural leisuretime facilities for the workers. The management was not stingy with its promises, and the party committee took them into consideration, but... no action was taken on the promises. And "help" arrived in time! Especially sharp criticism was leveled in the gorkom against plant director G. Gogoladze. He did draw the proper conclusions from the criticism. An entirely different attitude is now taken to the provision of facilities for the people's rest and relaxation at the plant.

More and more of these changes are found in the republic. What was it like before? The party committees frequently only recorded deficiencies and derelictions in this or that section. They would straighten out the situation in one place, sometimes only to encounter the same thing somewhere else the next day. Now, there is an increasingly noticeable attempt to detect the problem underlying the facts, to take a comprehensive approach to the matter, to deal with it on a rayon, city or republic scale.

How consideration is shown for the people at an aircraft plant. I can provide other examples of this. Workers at the Rustavi Metallurgical Plant, for example, say that they now spend half as much time going to the stores, dining halls and personal-service "points" as they did a few years ago. Actually, they do not have far to go. Directly beyond the entrance are the "Modnitsa" clothing repair and tailoring shop, the "Minutka" repair shop, the "Snezhinka" laundry, the "Solnechnaya" dining hall and the "Lakomka" cafe.... In the beginning many people talked about what had been done for the metallurgical workers as something most enterprises could not do. It would be good, they thought, for other enterprises to have their "Minutka" and "Snezhinka." Could they find the funds, the construction materials and so forth, however? They did more than just talk about it, and last year alone 120 trade and personal service facilities were opened near the entrances to republic enterprises.

In general, an attempt is being made to resolve the problem as a whole by the republic coordinating council for supervising the development and implementation of the comprehensive program for the mechanization of manual labor in the national economy. The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee recently heard a report from that council. A vast program of action has been established. Among other things, seven enterprises have been designated to form a network of base enterprises. New ideas will be given a sort of test there, then to be used by other enterprises. A total of 24 corresponding regional commissions have been activated, which include leaders of ministries and departments, large production associations and scientific and planning and design organizations, and prominent workers....

In short, a great deal is being done in the republic to meet the needs and requests of the workingman. Those large shortcomings, which have still not been eliminated in the work of a number of services created to improve the people's attitude are all the more disappointing in light of this. The performance of the ministries of Communications, Trade and Consumer Services has repeatedly been criticized at plenums of the Central Committee and obkoms and gorkoms of the Georgian Communist Party and at meetings of the party-administrative aktiv. There has been no letup in the complaints against them, however. Take the consumer service workers, for example: They frequently fill the workers' orders poorly and with great delays. Residents of the capital and of other towns and cities complain that the communications workers let them down time and again. Tbilisi residents have long complained about the extremely poor performance of the municipal telephone system. For more than a year it was impossible to telephone the suburban resort of Tskhneti, where thousands of adults and children vacation in the summer and winter. Communication was only restored a few days ago....

"Maximum sensitivity, maximum consideration and maximum concern for the people," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev reminded us at the recent session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, "are demanded by the party from all our institutions and officials." This means maximum demandingness as well! Therein lies the guarantee of continued growth of effectiveness from the efforts made by the republic communists, based on steadfast implementation of the well-known decrees passed by the CPSU Central Committee on Georgia's party organization.

11499

CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

MULTIVOLUME HISTORY OF THE UKRAINE PUBLISHED

Kiev RABUCHIAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Apr 80 p 3

[Review by Prof V. Naulko, doctor of historical sciences, of "Istoriya Ukrayins'koyi RSR" [History of Ukrainian SSR]. In 8 volumes, 10 books. "Naukova dumka": "A Fundamental Scientific Work--On the Publication of a Multivolume History of Ukrainian SSR"]

[Text] The publication of a multivolume history of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic represents a memorable event in the social-political, scientific and cultural life of the republic. This in Soviet historiography is the first fundamental Marxist work on the history of Ukrainian SSR produced as the result of many years of work by a large author collective. It is enough to say that there took part in the preparation of this publication 170 of the republic's leading scholars, representing the AS UkrSSR Institute of History, the Institute of Party History under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine--an affiliate of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee, republic VUZ's, related institutes of the Section of Social Sciences of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences and many other institutions.

Attention is drawn to the comprehensive character of research, wide-scale use of the latest data of historical science, philosophy, political economy, history of the national economy, literary criticism, ethnography and other social sciences. The production of the multivolume "Istoriya Ukrayins'koyi RSR" was made possible thanks to the fruitful creative cooperation of Ukrainian historians with scholars from Moscow, Leningrad and other scientific centers of the RSFSR and the fraternal republics.

The methodic basis of this fundamental work, reflecting the centuries-old history of the Ukrainian people, its struggle for social and national liberation and the tremendous achievements of the workers of the Ukraine in the building of socialism and communism, is to be found in the works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, materials of congresses, conferences and plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and other party documents. The publication is distinguished by party character, genuine historical method, scientific objectivity and a class approach to the evaluation of historical

phenomena and events. The authors from positions of Marxist-Leninist methodology analyzed and utilized a broad range of sources: archeological monuments, Middle-Age manuscripts, chronicles, diaries and memoirs of contemporaries of historical events, the periodical press, collections of documents and materials and documents of state and party archives. Many of these sources were introduced for the first time into scientific circulation. It can be said without exaggeration that the publication of "Istoriya Ukrainy i SSSR" was possible because of the use of numerous works on the history of the Ukraine by several generations of Soviet historians and the creative interpretation of the events of Soviet scientists in the field of other social sciences.

The historical path of the Ukrainian people is elucidated in the multivolume publication in indissoluble interaction with the histories of the Russian, Belorussian and other peoples of our multinational Motherland. The authors systematically trace the rise, development and succession of social-economic formations, emphasize the determining significance of method of production in the development of productive forces and the outstanding importance of the popular masses as the true creators of history and point out the leading role of the working class in the gaining of political power by the workers and in the building of socialism and communism. In the volumes devoted to the Soviet period, on the basis of concrete factual material, the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party in all fields of life is comprehensively disclosed.

The first book contains an elucidation of the questions of the establishment and development of primitive, slave-holding and feudal social-economic formations on the present territory of the UkSSR, processes of social-economic and ethnocultural development of ancient civilizations, most complex problems of ethnogenesis of the Slavs, formation of the ancient Russian power--Kievan Rus', the origin of the three fraternal East-Slavic peoples--Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians.

The second book of the first volume deals comprehensively with questions of the social-economic and political state of the Ukraine in the period of feudalism, increasing struggle of the popular masses against social and national oppression, which developed toward the end of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century into peasant-Cossack uprisings; it also investigates the very complex processes of the formation of Ukrainian national character and the strengthening of ties between the Ukrainian, Russian and Belorussian peoples.

A central place in the elucidation of the history of late feudalism (Volume Two) is occupied by the theme of the reunification of the Ukraine with Russia and the subsequent joint struggle of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples against feudal exploitation and foreign aggression. It is convincingly shown in the work that the reunification of the Ukraine with Russia met the basic interests of both peoples and contributed to their economic, political and cultural development and mutual enrichment of the cultures.

In the third volume, a thorough examination is made of processes of development and crisis in the feudal-serfdom system, the origin in the depths of this system of new capitalist relations, the formation and emergence in the political arena of a new class--the proletariat; there are shown the growth of the liberation movement, the creation of social-democrat circles and the start of V.I. Lenin's revolutionary activity.

In the elucidation of the period of imperialism (Volume 4), a large body of concrete material is used in the characterization of the social-economic development of the Ukraine as a composite part of Russia; a detailed examination is provided of the events connected with the 1905-1907 revolution, World War I and the February bourgeois-democratic revolution. The authors pay special attention to showing the guiding role of Lenin's party in the mobilization of workers for a struggle against social and national oppression.

This idea passes like a red thread through the fifth volume devoted to the struggle of the laboring masses of the Ukraine under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party headed by V.I. Lenin for the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet power in the Ukraine and the defeat of internal and external counterrevolution. It is emphasized in the work that the decisive factor in the period of struggle for the victory of the Soviet power was the unity of action of the proletarians, Ukrainian and Russian, which has deep historical roots.

In the sixth volume a very rich body of factual material is used to clearly and convincingly elucidate questions of the struggle of the workers of Soviet Ukraine for the restoration of the national economy and implementation of Lenin's plan of building socialism: liquidation of exploiting classes, accomplishment of socialist industrialization and collectivization of agriculture, carrying out of a cultural revolution, solution of the national question in our country and strengthening of its defense capability.

In the seventh volume "Ukrainian SSR and the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union of 1941-45," it is convincingly shown that the majestic achievement of the Soviet people in the struggle with fascism brightly reflected the social-political and international unity of the workers of our country and the people's struggle in the rear of the enemy on the temporarily occupied territory of the republic, the mass heroism of the people in the fighting for the Ukraine, and there is also disclosed the decisive, guiding and organizational role of the Communist Party in the victory over the enemy.

The history of the postwar period of the Ukrainian SSR finds its reflection in the two concluding books of the eighth volume. The first book (1945-50) elucidates the activity of the workers of the republic, which achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party significant successes in the realization of plans of economic and cultural construction and further strengthening of the cooperation and friendship of the peoples of the USSR and strengthening of peace in the whole world.

The second book, encompassing the period of developed socialism and building of communism (end of the 50's-70's), comprehensively examines on the basis of colossal factual material for the first time made available to scientific circulation the contribution of the workers of Soviet Ukraine in the creation of a material-technical base for communism and the development of the economy, science and culture; processes are shown of the formation of a historically new community of people--the Soviet people, colossal changes are noted in all spheres of public production and the spiritual life of the workers of Soviet Ukraine and in the strengthening of the friendship and cooperation with the peoples of the fraternal union republics and the countries of the socialist community.

The eight-volume "Istoriya Ukrayins'koyi RSR" is a significant contribution to Soviet historical science. This fundamental collective work not only describes in greater detail than in prior generalizing works the history of the Ukraine from ancient times to our days but also significantly expands the scope of examined questions, many of which have been elucidated for the first time in historical science.

The work subjects to sharply argued criticism bourgeois-nationalist and reactionary conceptions of bourgeois ideologists pertaining to various aspects of the history of Ukrainian SSR, particularly the ethnogenesis of Eastern Slavs, creation of the Ukrainian state system, reunification of the Ukraine with Russia, the "classlessness" and "bourgeoislessness" ["bezburzhuznost"] of the Ukrainian people, its relations with other Soviet peoples, denial of the historical mission of the proletariat and so on.

It should be emphasized that the multivolume history of the Ukraine is well illustrated and contains a large number of original tables, charts, photographs, maps and a copious bibliography.

Certain shortcomings can be found in the publication, but they do not reduce the general high assessment of this fundamental work. For example, the Russian edition of the multivolume history of the Ukrainian SSR in our view could have had an expanded number of maps, characterizing the flourishing of culture in the Ukraine in the years of the Soviet power, use of more data characterizing demographic processes in the republic.

On the whole, the multivolume of the history of the Ukrainian SSR is a tremendous achievement of a large collective of Soviet scholars. This work is distinguished by a high theoretical and professional level, systematic historical method and a most rich source-study and scientific base and fidelity to the principles of Marxist-Leninist methodology.

7697

CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

SHCHERBITSKIY STRESSES NEED FOR VIGILANCE

AU061645 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 6 May 80

[Speech by V. V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, at the 5 May ceremony of war memorial opening at Kortelisy village, Volynskaya Oblast--recorded live]

[Text] Dear comrades and esteemed guests: It is difficult to translate into words the feelings on this emotional day. Each of us bears in his heart deep sorrow and the radiant feeling of the triumph of our just cause for which 20 million Soviet people offered their lives. Today, on the eve of a great holiday--the 35th anniversary of the victory won in the great fatherland war--we inaugurate a memorial to the victims of fascism at Kortelisy village, thus confirming once again our people's sacred oath: No one and nothing has been forgotten. From the Mamay Hill on the Volga bank to Treskau Park in Berlin, magnificent memorials and modest obelisks have risen in tribute of eternal remembrance to those who offered for the victory the dearest thing they had--their lives. The people's footpath leading to them will never grow over. Whoever fell for the fatherland is immortal for ages.

One more memorial to those fallen in our land has been added today. The Ukrainian village Kortelisy through its terrible tragedy, through the pain of its irretrievable losses has entered history, has entered immortality along with Khatyn in Belorussia, Lidice in Czechoslovakia and Oradour in France. Looking at Kortelisy today, at the blossoming groves and the peaceful green fields, it is hardly imaginable that on this beautiful piece of land fire rose to the sky and death raged everywhere. But this, comrades, was what happened, and in the name of the innocent victims let us recall, comrades, how it happened.

Let us recall primarily the golden fall of 1939 when the age-old dream of the working people of West Ukrainian lands about reunification in the united Soviet state came true, when a new life began in Volyn.

Yet, the joy of this life, the joy of free work proved to be short. The fascist hordes moved against our land. Here, at our fatherland's western borders, the perfidious enemy felt on the very first days of the war the

entire force of the people's wrath and of the mass resistance of the people. The Soviet people rose for the sacred struggle, for the patriotic war against the hated oppressors. Polesye forests, Ukrainian and Belorussian villages and farmsteads sheltered Soviet troops who were encircled or had fled from captivity, persons fleeing from trains carrying young people to hard labor in Germany. Along with the local inhabitants they formed the detachments of people's avengers.

The partisan unit named after Klim Yefremovich Voroshilov, uniting Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians and representatives of many nationalities of our Soviet motherland, was headed by communist Mikhaylovskiy who participated in the defense of the Brest fortress. Having combined efforts with the group of partisans under Karbuk, a former teacher, and then with Skovoroda's partisan detachment, the patriots started a vigorous action. The occupier had no rest. The soil was kept burning under his feet.

Boundless love for the fatherland and lofty feeling of patriotism brought to the ranks of people's avengers ever more patriots. The enemy raged and worked off his beastly fury on peaceful inhabitants. The punitive squads and their mercenary assistants, nationalist bandits, burned villages and individual farmsteads and plundered, tortured and killed people. In August 1942 Kortelisy experienced the first punitive expedition. The relatives of partisans were shot dead before the eyes of the villagers. But Kortelisy, proud and unyielding part of our Soviet fatherland, did not succumb. And then the fascist conceived the ominous plan of a punitive expedition nicknamed "the triangle"--a plan to destroy the Belorussian villages of Kortkov and Zabolotye, and the Ukrainian village Kortelisy. The Belorussian villages were the first to be burned, and then the Black Wednesday, 23 September, came for Kortelisy.

On this soil, comrades, a martyr's death was received by 2,875 persons, including 1,620 children. Everything alive was destroyed. The black sites of burned houses on the remains of Kortelisy village and 20 more individual farmsteads in the neighborhood.

It is to be added that the tragic lot of Kortelisy village was shared by more than 750 other villages in our republic, including Kayukovka in Chernigovskaya Oblast, Ravka in Kievskaya Oblast, Kobyl in Zhitomirskaya Oblast, Staraya Guta in Sumskaya Oblast, (Molodkov) in Ternopolskaya Oblast and many others.

Although erased from the surface of earth, they did not remain subdued. Our people never lost the hope that the ruins and death would be avenged, that the enemy would pay for everything that he brought to our land. Our sacred and righteous wrath was growing like a powerful avalanche. The defeat of the fascist troops at Moscow, the legendary Stalingrad epopee, the battle for the Caucasus, the Bridgehead, the Orel-Kursk Bulge, the Dnepr River crossing and many other great and smaller battles were the unfading milestones on the path to our victory and covered the valiant Soviet army with immortal glory.

The victory was forged by the millions of Soviet people in selfless toil in the hinterland. They provided the front with everything needed. Partisans and underground fighters, numbering more than 600,000 in the Ukraine alone, heroically fought the hated enemy. The partisans of Kortelisy, having joined the Shchors detachment and Aleksey Federovich Fedorov's unit, also avenged the death of their families and relatives. He who brought death to us found death himself. This was and always will be true in our sacred land. [applause]

Our people will never forget the 1,418 bitter days and nights of the war. Our people will never forget those who paid in blood for the great victory--the fearless soldiers of our legendary army and glorious partisans. Comrades, let us pay tribute of one-minute silence to the radiant memory of the heroes who offered their lives for the fatherland, of all those who fell in the great fatherland war. [silence]

Esteemed comrades, while going back today in our thoughts to the bitter and heroic past, we are ever more perfectly aware of the greatness of the universal historic feat performed by the Soviet people and the deep regularity [zakonomirnist] of our victory. The defeat of fascism, that shock detachment of world imperialism, has shown to the whole world the invincible strength of our state system, of the moral and political unity of Soviet society, Leninist friendship among peoples, the unsurpassed examples of patriotism among all our people, their selflessness and heroism that will never be forgotten by mankind saved from the fascist invasion. Our victory marked a peak and a crucial turning point in the history of Europe and of the whole world. The heat of battles, the selfless toil in the hinterland and the mass resistance on the territories provisionally captured by the enemy fully displayed the high moral and political qualities of the Soviet people, people educated by the communist party, the inspirer and organizer of the nationwide struggle against the enemy. The communists personified the will, courage and devotion to the immortal Leninist ideals, cemented the ranks of the fatherland's defenders. Just consider, comrades: more than a half of all prewar members of the All-Union Communist Party of the Bolsheviks did not return from the battlefields of the great fatherland war. The ardent slogan "communists, forward!" became a moral rule and the law of life for every party card holder and inspired the hearts and redoubled the forces of the people. Our people believed in the party as always, followed the party, held out and triumphed. [applause]

Esteemed comrades! Today at the grave of those fallen we lit a flame, the unextinguishable flame of our memories. From this sacred hill we can see Kortelisy village reborn from the ashes. And it is highly symbolic, comrades, that at the sight to which the enemy brought death, life has blossomed again. Also the features of the entire Volyn Province, the lives of its people have changed beyond recognition. Some 124 large enterprises have been built in the oblast in the period since the war alone. The volume of industrial production has risen more than 34 times. Production bearing Volyn trademarks is being exported to 65 countries of the world. Agricultural production is increasing systematically. The economy of

kolkhozes and sovkhoses is strengthening. The people's prosperity is constantly growing, too. The ancient city of Lutsk is growing increasingly beautiful year by year. Destroyed in the war, Kovel has been restored. A new city of miners, Novovolynsk, has emerged on the industrial map of Volyn. Dozens of modern villages, such as Berezovichi, Perespa, Dubove, Bobly, Lyubychev, Ratnev and others, have developed.

The Soviet people look to the future with optimism and confidence. They bring that future closer with their shock work. Comrades, this is the law of our lives: to go forward, to strive for more. This is the will of the party that regards it as its fundamental principle in activity--everything in the name of man and for the benefit of man. [applause]

Comrades, within 3 days we will mark the 35th anniversary of the victory won by the Soviet people in the great fatherland war. The skies above us have been peaceful for more than one-third of a century. We have been working peacefully for more than one-third of a century. The Ukrainian people, like all Soviet peoples, are very grateful for that to our party, to its Leninist Central Committee, to the Central Committee Politburo and to Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, indefatigable continuer of the immortal Lenin's cause and consistent fighter for peace on earth [prolonged applause]

Comrades, peace is the supreme value of mankind, and for this reason the communist party regards the struggle for peace as a lofty duty before those deprived of lives by the war and as the main goal in its foreign policy. The Leninist foreign political line pursued by our party and state, by the fraternal countries of the socialist community is subordinated to that noble goal. This is the goal being striven for by the peoples who have freed themselves from colonial oppression and by those defending freedom and independence today. All honest people on earth live for this goal.

However, as is known, in the world, and primarily in the fortress of capitalism, the United States of America, there are forces trying to exacerbate the international situation, to undermine the process of detente, to go back to policy from the positions of strength and to the notorious cold war times. The ashes of Kortelisy call for our vigilance, because even today there are in the world errant henchmen and killers, those who have learned nothing from history and who have not given up longings for new war adventures. The fascist subunit that destroyed Kortelisy was called "The Nuremberg." And what bleak and eloquent symbolism this is: Nuremberg was the name of both the punitive company and of the city where the Hitlerite bosses found their shameful end.

All that should be remembered by those who only recently were trying to establish by fire and sword their "new order" in the land of long-suffering Vietnam, who destroyed to the ground the peaceful village of (Cong Le), that tragic companion of our Kortelisy and Khatyn, those who today put knives and poison into the hands of hired gangsters to (?commit) crimes in Afghanistan, who point ships' missiles at peaceful Iranian settlements and who resort to that threat and provocations. As is known, the Soviet

people do not belong to the timid ones. We have sufficient strength and possibilities to rebuff any aggressor. And may our adversaries remember the lessons of history, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev emphasized; let them know that unity among the Soviet people is manifested with particular vigor precisely when the attempts are being made to use threats with regard to them. [applause]

The traditions of courage and fortitude displayed in the struggle for the freedom and independence of the socialist fatherland, the traditions of people who fearlessly looked into the eyes of death are being cherished as sacred and being cultivated by our valiant armed forces, and patriotic feelings that inspired the hearts of the defenders of the fatherland are lending wings today to labor heroes. The war-time mass feat has turned into the labor feat of the millions of selfless fighters for communism. Strikingly attesting this is the shock work performed by frontrankers in socialist competitions whose better collectives coped with their 5-year tasks by the 110th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilich Lenin. Attesting to this are labor successes attained by our people in honor of May Day and of the 35th anniversary of the victory won in the great fatherland war. May the working people's efforts further redouble in the struggle for the successful completion of the 10th 5-year period and for a worthy welcome to the 26th CPSU Congress! [applause]

Glory be, comrades, to the Soviet people--hero and builder! [applause]
Long live the CPSU--organizer and inspirer of all our victories! [applause]
Long live peace all over the world! [applause]

CSO: 1811

REGIONAL

SHEVARDNADZE TOURS ARTS, CRAFTS PROJECTS IN TBILISI

LD121021 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 8 Apr 80 p 1

[GruzINFORM report: "Art in People's Service"]

[Text] On 5 April Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee, visited the renovated quarter of old Tbilisi on Baratashvili Street. There he looked round the Tbilisi Academy of Arts salon in the halls of one of the restored buildings. The salon is displaying works by the academy's students--paintings, sketches, sculpture and examples of applied art: Cermaic, glass and wooden articles and dolls. The people of Tbilisi and the capital's guests are being offered the opportunity not only to look around the exhibition but also to acquire works they like, which will be allowed to go on sale by the decision of a special artistic council.

Prof G. Totibadze, rector of the Tbilisi Academy of Arts and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Arts, told Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze about the young artists' works and civic outlook and about the way all the conditions have been created for them to gain knowledge and heighten their professional skill. The future applied art specialists will be greatly helped by the creation under the academy of new laboratory workshops, where the students will produce tapestries, felt work and dolls in national costume.

Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze asked about the state of the material and technical base for the future specialists; training and noted the necessity and advisability of setting up similar salons. We must do everything possible to help young people to display their talents and abilities most fully, Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze noted.

Then Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze visited the souvenir store and the "Narindzhi" and "Sachashniko" salons which have been opened in the restored buildings.

That same day Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze visited the S. Dzhanashia Georgian state museum and looked round the new exhibition of the seyf [meaning unknown] staged by Doctor of Historical Sciences Prof A. Dzhavakhishvili, deputy

director of the museum, artist S. Kenchadze, architect V. Chagunava and restorer G. Rusishvili. Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze inspected samples from the treasure store of the Georgian people's spiritual culture discovered by archeological expeditions in various regions of Georgia--Trialeti, Vani, Armaziskhevi, Uraki, Klydeyeti, Zguderi, Aragvispiri, Akhagori, Urbnisi and other places--and archeologists' new finds from excavations in Racha. Doctor of Historical Sciences L. Chilashvili, the museum director, and Prof A. Dzhevakhishvili provided explanations.

Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze made a high assessment of the museum's new exhibition. We must create for the priceless samples of ancient artistic culture, he said, good modern conditions worthy of the culture so that it helps the generations to gain a better knowledge of the history of their native land and their people. Concern must be shown for popularizing these unique samples through art books, gift sets and postcards so that our republic's working people and guests from the fraternal republics and various countries of the world can learn of the history of the Georgian people's spiritual culture and our forefathers' wonderful works. These publications are of great state importance and are an excellent means of propaganda. The leadership of the Georgian SSR state committee for publishing houses, printing plants and the book trade must see to it that they are published.

The new exhibition at the Georgian state museum will be open to visitors in a few days time.

At the Georgian state picture gallery Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze looked round an exhibition of the works of artists from the USSR Academy of Arts Tbilisi creative workshops. These schools for improving the professional skill of graduates of art vuzes in Georgia are now headed by USSR people's artist Ucha Dzheparidze, who introduced Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze to the painters of the works shown.

The pulse of our time, labor heroes and Soviet people's daily life are portrayed in the paints and sculptures of O. Cuubinidze, L. Goglidze, O. Kachkachishvili, G. Tsereteli, M. Gagnidze, N. Churguliya, K. Dzheparadze, A. Monaselidze, I. Pataashuri, I. Vepkhvadze, V. Dzhibuti and other young artists.

The exhibition attests convincingly that young Georgian artists are working successfully in all spheres of graphic art. The 300 or so works on display differ from each other in terms of content, genre features and manner of execution, but they are united by their bright, optimistic perception of life and the desire to create works worthy of our heroic era.

Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze evinced a highly favorable response to the works of the young artists and noted the great significance of establishing creative workshops.

Here too Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze viewed works of art executed in silver.

During his tour of the exhibition Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze was given explanations by N. Dzhamberidze, chairman of the board of the Georgian Writers Union, and M. Kipiani, director of the Georgian state picture gallery.

Then Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze visited the workshop of Merab Berdzenishvili, people's artist of the Georgian SSR and Rustaveli and USSR state prize winner, where he familiarized himself very closely with the sculptor's works. Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze displayed special interest in the master's new work--a victory memorial which will be erected next year in Kutaisi. This memorial is one of the works created on the theme of peace [or world] which is aimed against war and graphically reflecting the noble ideas of peace and friendship among the peoples.

Comrades G. N. Yenukidze, T. N. Menteshashvili and O. Ye. Cherkeziya were with Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze.

CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

BRIEFS

CPSU'S ROMANOV HONORS HEROES--Leningrad--Today veterans of the great patriotic war, generals, admirals and officers of the Soviet Army and Navy, representatives of labor kollektivs of the city in the Neva, honored by a minute of silence at the eternal flame of the Piskarez memorial, the memory of hundreds of thousands of Leningraders who showed an example of bravery and heroism. An artillery salute was fired. Romanov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom, other leaders of party and administrative organizations, heroes of the Soviet Union and delegations of the working people laid wreaths at the monument to the motherland. A solemn ceremony also took place at the memorial to the heroic defenders of Leningrad on the Ploshchad Pobedy. In all rayons of the hero-city meetings of former frontline soldiers are now taking place. [Text] [LD091339 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 9 May 80]

CSO: 1800

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SELECTIVE LIST OF JPRS SERIAL REPORTS

USSR SERIAL REPORTS (GENERAL)

USSR REPORT: Agriculture
USSR REPORT: Economic Affairs
USSR REPORT: Construction and Equipment
USSR REPORT: Military Affairs
USSR REPORT: Political and Sociological Affairs
USSR REPORT: Energy
USSR REPORT: International Economic Relations
USSR REPORT: Consumer Goods and Domestic Trade
USSR REPORT: Human Resources
USSR REPORT: Transportation
USSR REPORT: Translations from KOMMUNIST*
USSR REPORT: PROBLEMS OF THE FAR EAST*
USSR REPORT: SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES*
USSR REPORT: USA: ECONOMICS, POLITICS, IDEOLOGY*

USSR SERIAL REPORTS (SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL)

USSR REPORT: Life Sciences: Biomedical and Behavioral Sciences
USSR REPORT: Life Sciences: Effects of Nonionizing Electromagnetic Radiation
USSR REPORT: Life Sciences: Agrotechnology and Food Resources
USSR REPORT: Chemistry
USSR REPORT: Cybernetics, Computers and Automation Technology
USSR REPORT: Electronics and Electrical Engineering
USSR REPORT: Engineering and Equipment
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USSR REPORT: Materials Science and Metallurgy
USSR REPORT: Physics and Mathematics
USSR REPORT: SPACE BIOLOGY AND AEROSPACE MEDICINE*

WORLDWIDE SERIAL REPORTS

WORLDWIDE REPORT: Environmental Quality
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Epidemiology
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Law of the Sea
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Nuclear Development and Proliferation
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Telecommunications Policy, Research and Development

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